The LIFE of GEORGE CADBURY

A. G. Gardiner

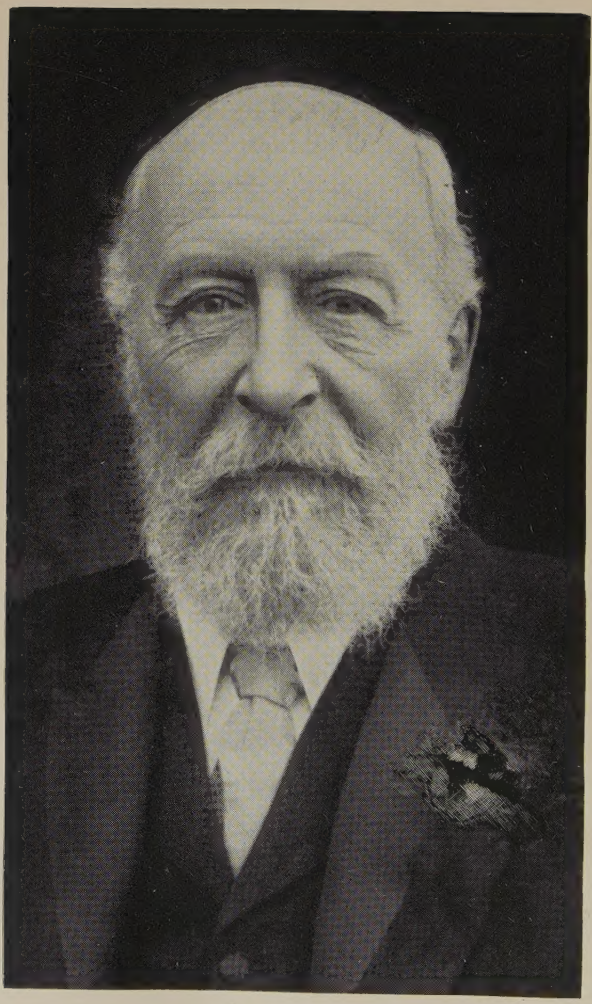


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LIFE OF GEORGE CADBURY

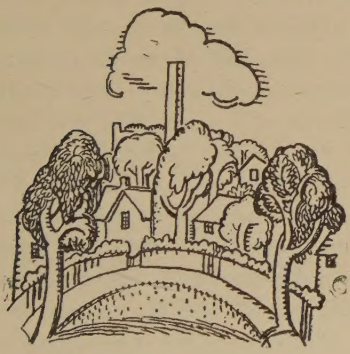


GEORGE CADBURY AT THE AGE OF 78.

LIFE OF
GEORGE CADBURY

By

A. G. GARDINER



With Illustrations by
CLIVE GARDINER

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PREFACE

THE combination in its highest expression of the mystic and the man of affairs is of rare occurrence. In the political history of this country there has been one supreme example and only one. In the field of business activity the phenomenon has been more frequent, but still rare. The aloofness of the two motives is intelligible and almost belongs to the nature of things. At the best, business is an exacting and jealous occupation. It deals with material things and aims at material ends. It has no place for sentiment and cultivates no dreams of spiritual destinies. It has its moralities which cannot be disregarded with impunity, but they are secular moralities. It is no reflection on the great commercial adventurers to say that they are realists whose horizon is bounded by hard facts within which they work with single-minded purpose, and that the measure of their success is the measure of their obedience to the commands implicit in those facts. "Business is business" is a maxim which is accepted as unchallengeable, and it is understood to cover not only the code under which business is conducted, but the limitations of interest and outlook that it demands. There is no

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room in it for the visionary and the poet, and to do the visionary and the poet justice they rarely meddle with it. They have a congenital disinclination for the mechanism of things, and for the relentless logic of ledgers, and their fervour for the New Jerusalem makes them impatient of the chaffering of markets, the hagglings with labour and the crudities of competition. They live in an imaginative realm of their own creation, and if they came down to the market place they would be brushed aside by the powerful practical men who handle the ponderable things of life. It may be doubted whether Ruskin or Shelley could have been trusted with the conduct of a coffee-stall, and though William Morris had success in translating his mediæval dreams into the terms of business, he admitted that he owed the fact to the practical genius of another.

But in George Cadbury the two motives were so interwoven as to form a single strand of purpose. It was a superficial view which saw in him a remarkable example of dual personality, such as that, for instance, of Andrew Carnegie. The ruthless iron-master and the Friend of Man lived concurrent lives, but they lived them on different planes, almost in separate hemispheres, and never seemed to meet. It was otherwise in the case of George Cadbury. There was a natural tendency in the outside world to think of him, whether in a friendly or an unfriendly spirit, as a man with

two powerful incentives in life, one directed to the conquest of the things of the world, the other directed to the conquest of the spiritual kingdom. He was, alternately, a man of surpassing business genius and a man whose eyes were fixed far off on the shining land of Beulah.

It was a mistaken view. There can, I think—and I knew him in close intimacy for twenty years—never have been a more single-minded pilgrim on the stage of this world. The language of the great allegory springs irresistibly to the mind in writing of him. As I summon his figure before me and see the significance of his life in that large and illuminating perspective which death gives, it is the pilgrim of the seventeenth-century visionary who comes to mind. George Cadbury's journey through life had the same ceaseless urge of the spirit that drove Christian forward on his immortal quest. He saw the City of Destruction as vividly as the "God-intoxicated man" of Bunyan's dream saw it, and for him the walls of the Celestial City gleamed on the horizon no less surely. Before the tremendous alternative offered to men, the choice between living for the things of the spirit or for the things that perish, all other issues shrank to nothing and all other preoccupations were negligible.

From this single root the tree of his life sprang in all its manifestations. It was a life of singular unity and simplicity. It was of one pattern and of

one piece. The imperious motive that ran through it from youth to age governed every action and there was no sharp separation between his secular and his spiritual activities. He passed from the Adult School to his office and from the social field to the playground without any change in his attitude of mind or spirit. The functions were different, but they all subserved the single end to which thought and feeling were directed. It was his custom in his old age to say that it was his experiences in the Adult School that made the success of Bournville possible, and no one familiar with his life and his habits of thought can doubt that the impulse which made him so conspicuous a figure in the world of commerce came from the acute sense which his activities among the poor gave him of the waste and degradation of human life under the modern industrial system. The complacent valuation of business in the terms of mill chimneys and imports and exports—a valuation so universally accepted seventy years ago as to move so fine a spirit as Macaulay to eloquent thanksgiving—seemed to him to leave out the supreme factor in the calculations of national well-being. To him, as to Ruskin, the only true wealth of a nation was in the life of its people, and if that life was perishing in sunless slums and fetid hovels the country was doomed even though forests of mill chimneys sprang up over every valley and plain.

It was this sense of the overshadowing importance of human life that gave coherence and design to his career. His thought worked in unusual isolation and detachment from the conventions of his time and the axioms of others. In his personal relations he was the most companionable of men, simple, childlike and as devoid of intellectual pride as of caste feeling; but in the large matters of life he acted with entire independence of external opinion and prejudice. He arrived at his decisions by that "inner light" which he accepted as the infallible guide of conduct, and with which he took counsel daily in quiet walks and moods of "wise passiveness." The doctrine of the "inner light," one of the most powerful forces in human affairs and the central idea of the remarkable community to which George Cadbury belonged, has not escaped criticism from those who see in its operation, where unqualified by the teachings of collective experience, a perilous exaltation of the individual judgment. But of its driving energy and its impetus to original and decisive action there is no doubt, and it is certain that without that powerful inspiration George Cadbury would not, in the face of the accepted traditions of his time as well as the calculations of self-interest, have blazed so bold a path through the social undergrowths of industrial England.

A new time has come with new methods and new and more challenging ideas of industrial

relationship and of the claims of social justice. The note of altruism, of human sympathy, almost of patriarchal responsibility, which was implicit in the impulse which George Cadbury gave to his time has been superseded by a colder and (in the narrow sense of that much abused word) more "realistic" attitude to the problems of life. But the pioneer work he did in awakening thought and making sunlit ways through darkest England remains, and whatever the comment of time on his methods may be, whether it confirms or rejects them, the spirit in which he worked will remain an imperishable memory. That, more even than anything he did, is the legacy he has left for the future. It is as one who loved his fellow men, and served them with ceaseless devotion, that his name will live among the gracious legends of the past.

In the following pages the story of his life is told as briefly and simply as he wished it to be told. It has been compiled from his papers, from the recollections of those who lived with him and saw him in his daily tasks, and from my own personal intercourse with him. In writing it I have had much valuable help from Mrs. Cadbury, Mr. Edward Cadbury and other members of the family, and to them I express my indebtedness. Acknowledgments are also due to Mr. P. W. Wilson and Miss Margaret Bryant for assistance in preparing the material for publication.

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LIFE OF GEORGE CADBURY

CHAPTER I

THE CADBURY FAMILY

The Name of Cadbury—Early History of the Family—Connexion with Quakerism—Richard Tapper Cadbury removes to Birmingham—John Cadbury and the Child Sweep—Development of the Business under John Cadbury.

GEORGE CADBURY was born at Birmingham on September 19th, 1839. The association of his family with Birmingham dated from 1794, when his grandfather, Richard Tapper Cadbury, went thither to establish a business. The source of the family, however, is to be looked for in the south-west of England. There can be few more

native growths than the Cadbury stock. The name itself has its roots in the remote past ; but the thing it signifies is still more ancient. The word Cadbury (Cath Burg), the stronghold on the hill, takes the mind back to the twilight of history, beyond Norman and Saxon and Roman, into the fabulous realm of pre-historic Britain. Topographically the name is familiar in the south-west country. There is a Cadbury in Devon, another near Clevedon, a third near Yatton ; Cadbury Banks in Worcester, and North and South Cadbury in Somerset. In each case the physical characteristics are the same—an isolated hill of oval shape, more or less strongly trenched with earthworks. Best known is South Cadbury, in Somerset, a little village overshadowed by the fortress-crowned hill of Cadbury Castle. Eight miles north of Exeter is another village of Cadbury, consisting now of only a few cottages on the hillside. Within the ancient entrenchment on the top of the hill the army of Fairfax encamped in 1645.



Early in the sixteenth century a Nicholas and his wife Eleanor established their home at Wareham in Dorset, and their daughter Edith, born in 1567, became the wife of Sir William Pitt. The Cadbury coat of arms supported by that of the Pitts is over the recumbent figures of Sir William and his wife on the family tomb at Strathfieldsaye, a few miles south of Reading. Beneath is the motto " Vis unita fortior," which was revived by Richard Tapper Cadbury, the founder of the family in Birmingham.

THE CADBURY FAMILY

From 1557, when the register of the parish of Uffculme notes the interment of William Cadbury of that parish, the record of George Cadbury's ancestry is complete for ten generations. For over two centuries the life of the family centred in the villages on the banks of the River Culme, which flows into the Exe a few miles above Exeter. The Cadburys seem to have been largely interested in the woollen trade, which was once carried on on the banks of the Culme.

It was with John Cadbury, the wool-comber of Burlescombe in Devon, that the association of the family with the Society of Friends began. He and his brothers Mark and Robert became members, and he himself married Hannah Tapper of Exeter, the daughter of Richard Tapper, a wool-comber, through whom he was brought into the very heart of the Quaker movement. Hannah's father, Richard Tapper, was one of George Fox's companions in persecution, and a small Bible which belonged to him passed into the possession of his great-grandson, Richard Tapper Cadbury, of Birmingham, who, in his turn, left it to his eldest grandson, Richard Tapper Cadbury, of Philadelphia, U.S.A. It is inscribed in the handwriting of the elder R. T. Cadbury as follows:

> This Bible, just two hundred years since, belonged to my great-grandfather Richard Tapper, whose name is written in it. This dear ancestor was one of the converts of George Fox, and was imprisoned with others in Exeter gaol in 1693, as related in Besses' sufferings of Friends, and I doubt not this relic was his companion. Many impressive passages are marked in it that denote a pious and serious mind. The Bible contains a chronicle of his family that I could not obtain otherwise.

Richard Tapper Cadbury was a remarkable example of a remarkable stock, whose native virility had been strengthened by the powerful religious movement founded by George Fox. The true stature of that great man has only been generally realized in recent times. He brought into the current of English life a vitalizing principle whose influence has been felt far outside the limits of Quakerism. The revolt against forms and creeds, the reliance upon the indwelling spirit, the scorn of the judgments of the world, and the reverence for the sanctity of the private conscience, all of which were implicit in the movement, communicated to the national spirit that independence and moral force which were so largely the source not only of the material success of the country but also of its spiritual influence in the world. It was to assert these doctrines that Fox endured that unparalleled course of ridicule and cruelty, the brow-beatings of ignorant judges, the noisome confinement of the prisons and all the toils of his unresting service.

From his teaching sprang one of the most remarkable types of character known to history—strong, self-reliant men and women, recognizing no court except that of conscience, at once profoundly spiritual and astonishingly practical. Never relatively numerous, they exercised an influence altogether out of proportion to their numbers, due to the singular union of mystical fervour and sound everyday judgment fostered by their philosophy. Mysticism, which has assumed so large a place in the religious thought of our time, has been well described by von Hügel as " an endeavour to find God at first hand, experi-

mentally, in the soul herself, independently of all historical and philosophical presuppositions." There could be no better definition of the Quaker philosophy of life, of which the teaching of Eucken is so largely a modern interpretation. The effect of such a teaching on character is strengthening and sobering. It develops a strong individualistic tendency which makes for material success; but it qualifies that tendency by a profound sense of the value of human life and of the spiritual significance of existence whence issue the social enthusiasm and sense of public duty which have always been characteristics of the Friends.

Of the type of character developed in this school, Richard Tapper Cadbury was a striking example. He left Exeter on the stage coach as a lad of fourteen, to serve an apprenticeship to a draper in Gloucester, and later completed his business education in Gracechurch Street, London. In 1794 he went to Birmingham, whither he carried into his business and into public affairs the piety and principles of his private life, and established that standard of business honour which has always been associated with the name of Cadbury.

With him, too, originated that paternal regard for the physical and moral welfare of work-people which is a tradition of the family. In a time of singular laxity and disregard he initiated the practice of assembling his workpeople weekly for a scripture reading. He was in the forefront of all moral movements of his time, and when the "seven men of Preston" started their historic temperance campaign it was he who entertained

them at Birmingham, and, together with his wife, joined the movement, defiant of the remonstrances of medical and other friends.

The early years of the century were a period of hitherto unparalleled development in the history of Birmingham, and in that development Richard Tapper Cadbury played a leading part, serving first as an overseer of the poor, then as one of the guardians of the poor, and for thirty years on the Board of Commissioners, the chairmanship of which he held until 1851, when the Board was superseded by the Town Council. He was a man straight of figure and of a commanding spirit, gifted with great lucidity of thought and speech, cheerful and dignified, his courtesy touched with a certain autocratic authority which gave point to his popular title of "King Richard."

The austerity of his family life was illustrated by an episode in connexion with John, the third son, born in 1801, who, early discovering a taste for music, learned the German flute. But in those days the Friends still observed the most rigorous avoidance of all appeals to the senses. They saw in them the snares of the world, and in deference to his father's wish John surrendered his flute. In matters of conscience he had all the family independence and courage, but in matters of private enjoyment he bowed to paternal authority. John followed the family tradition by adopting a trading career. In 1824, having served a seven years' apprenticeship in Leeds and having had experience in a bonded tea house in London, he returned to Birmingham, and started business as a tea and coffee dealer at 93, Bull Street, his father placing some money at his disposal, with

which, he said, "he must sink or swim," as he had a family of ten children to care for.

John swam. He had in a large measure the family industry and business instinct, and his sense of the uses of advertisement was shown in his introduction of plate-glass windows in mahogany frames, a novelty in shop decoration which in those days attracted people from miles around. Like his father, he maintained a severe standard of public conduct, and when, on being elected one of the overseers of the poor, he attended one of the frequent dinners of that body and found the table laden with the choicest dainties at the public expense while outside a crowd of forlorn paupers waited in the cold for relief, he denounced this gross and insolent abuse of office, proved its illegality and secured its abandonment. The same energy of spirit in the public cause was shown in connexion with another humane work with which he was prominently associated.

The barbarous practice of employing climbing boys in the sweeping of chimneys was then universal. It was a part of that savage indifference to the child which strikes us to-day as so incredible an aspect of the time of our grandfathers. He gave demonstrations to show the practicability of cleaning chimneys without the aid of the climbing boy, and though the master sweeps, with the natural conservatism of a class which sees in every reform a menace to its interests, resisted him, he won a complete victory. He not only called a meeting of sweeps in the town hall to argue with them, but subsequently bought a number of machines and set master sweeps up with them. John Cadbury's experiments in Birmingham con-

tributed to that awakening of the public conscience and to the emancipation of childhood from the slavery which is the subject of one of the most moving chapters in Mr. and Mrs. Hammond's "The Town Labourer." The then Duke of Sutherland was Chairman of the Select Committee of the House of Lords set up to investigate the scandal, and among the documents disposed of at the sale of the Stafford House library in 1913 was the following letter from John Cadbury to the Duke :

JOHN CADBURY *to the* DUKE OF SUTHERLAND

In reply to thy favour of the 30th ulto., I beg respectfully to state that the progress of the use of machines for sweeping chimnies in this town has been for the last six years gradually on the increase. One man was first supplied with a machine, and soon found full occupation; a second was then introduced and met with similar results; and about two years ago a third also began and finds likewise pretty full employ—besides which the old sweeps who keep the climbing boys have found it necessary to obtain machines also to satisfy some of their employers who were determined no longer to use children—but I regret to say that out of this circumstance much prejudice against the machine has been raised, owing to these masters of the boys having very improperly worked the machine and said and done all they could to prejudice the minds of servants against them. I rejoice to say nevertheless that our cause is still progressing onwards. The public buildings in this Town, which are not very numerous, are generally swept with a machine—such, for instance, as the Hospital, Asylum, Deaf and Dumb Asylum, Oscott College, Banks, principal Hotels.

I enclose the testimony of a few respectable families, who for many years encouraged the use of the machine, and if necessary abundance more might be added. Thou art probably aware that a petition to the House of Commons in support of the Bill went from this Town most respectably signed, and I regret a similar one, which might as easily have been obtained, was not prepared to be sent to the

House of Lords. The testimony of the only Fire Office establishment in this Town I send herewith—the other offices are merely agents from London houses.

I believe I may with safety say that there is scarcely one chimney in many hundreds—indeed I question if there would be found more than one in a thousand—wherein any serious obstruction presents to the free use of the machine.

I am not aware that I can make much further addition unless it be to assure thee that my mind has been deeply interested for many years on the ground of humanity alone, in endeavouring to introduce the use of the machine and to remove the difficulties opposed to it—for this purpose I am free to say to thee that I have often attended in person to superintend the application of the machine.

I shall be most happy to attend with promptitude to any further enquiry thou mayest think it right to obtain from this quarter—and under a feeling of much personal obligation to thee for thy exertion in this cause of humanity allow me to subscribe myself most respectfully.

JOHN CADBURY,
Tea Dealer.

Following the report of the Committee, legislation was enacted prohibiting the employment of climbing boys. It was the first indication of that more humane and enlightened policy in regard to the children which was to achieve so much in the future.

In 1832 John Cadbury married Candia Barrow of Lancaster. It was the revival of a child love, and was a union fraught with singular happiness. Candia Barrow—one of whose ancestors, Palmer, was burned at the stake in the days of religious persecution—brought into the family a new infusion of the strong, purposeful enthusiasm of the Friends. Her father, George Barrow, was a foreign merchant whose ships, trading chiefly with the West Indies, could be seen from the family home at Bowerham on the outskirts of Lancaster,

making for the mouth of the Lune across Morecambe Bay. In John Cadbury and his wife the new cause of total abstinence found enthusiastic advocates. John's enthusiasm seemed to his father, Richard Tapper, excessive, though finally the old man took his place by his son in the cause and, as already stated, entertained the "seven men of Preston" on their visit to Birmingham. John himself, as one of the founders of the Birmingham Auxiliary Temperance Society, was afterwards presented with an illuminated address bearing witness to his ceaseless exertions in the cause. Meantime, side by side with all his public activities, John Cadbury had not neglected his business, in which after some years he was joined by his brother Benjamin Head. It was in 1835 that he extended its scope by renting a warehouse in Crooked Lane and there experimenting with pestle and mortar in the manufacture of cocoa and chocolate. It was the modest beginning of a great enterprise. Subsequently, in 1847, the Crooked Lane premises were acquired by the G.W.R. Company and the business was removed to Bridge Street. Grief at the death of his wife in 1855, and an attack of rheumatic fever in the same year, left John Cadbury's natural powers permanently diminished. He retired in 1861, leaving the business in the hands of his sons, Richard and George, and devoted the long evening of his life to religious and philanthropic work, passing away in 1889 at the age of 88.



CHAPTER II

EARLY LIFE

Home at Edgbaston—Schooldays—Death of His Brother—The Brothers, Richard and George, enter Business—Their Recreations.

IT was in 1835 that John Cadbury removed from the town house in Bull Street to Calthorpe Road, Edgbaston, where George Cadbury was born four years later. In those days Edgbaston was a delightful suburb, bordered on one side by Ladywood, then a sylvan solitude, now a monotonous district of featureless workmen's houses without gardens or beauty. The change involved in this fact is typical of the whole development of Birmingham, and it had a deep and abiding effect upon the mind of George Cadbury. He never ceased to recall the Birmingham of his childhood's

days. It was a city without the central dignity given to it by the great improvement scheme in which, with Joseph Chamberlain and others, he later bore a part. But, on the other hand, it was a city whose people still had contact with the wholesome and renovating influences of nature. It was surrounded by pleasant gardens, which have to-day vanished before the airless slum and the mean street.

The change which George Cadbury saw overtake Birmingham, he witnessed also in Coventry and other Midland manufacturing towns. He was impressed by the moral and spiritual counterpart of this change. He saw how the more wholesome life of his childhood bred a type of citizen healthy in body and independent in spirit. He saw how the life of the town was purified by the cleansing contact, even though it were only on summer evenings and at week-ends, with the primal sanities of nature. As Birmingham prospered and extended, devouring the gardens and the green countryside, he saw a change come over the character of the people. He realized how profoundly environment affected character, and with that grasp of simple elementary truths which was the secret of his power devoted himself unceasingly to the problem of restoring the industrial world to its old, healthful contact with natural things.

The home life at Edgbaston was severe but happy. The atmosphere was charged with the moral intensity and practical seriousness of a long Puritan tradition. George Cadbury's ancestors on both sides, up to and including his sixteen great-great-grandparents, had been members of the

Society of Friends, and that 'during' times when the line of demarkation between the Society and the outside world was much more sharply drawn than it is to-day. He was brought up, therefore, in what was essentially a separate social and religious caste, at once mystical and practical. Religion was the constant atmosphere of his childhood, not a shadowy region into which casual excursions were made on Sunday. Any complete account of George Cadbury would be first and foremost a "Book of the Spiritual Life." He carried with him throughout his career the highly charged spiritual atmosphere of those early days at Edgbaston. It governed his outlook in all affairs, small and great, and pervaded all his actions and interests. With him there was no gulf between the world of spiritual ideas and the world of facts, and he translated the one into the other with a directness that was often disconcerting to the conventional mind. The life at Edgbaston was bare of all self-indulgence and luxury. A Spartan severity was the keynote, and the senses were kept in rigorous and watchful restraint. John Cadbury, who as a youth had, as we have seen, surrendered his flute in deference to his father's will, persisted with characteristic firmness in the suppression of his musical passion. Almost to the end of his days he would not allow a piano in his house, though for some reason the self-denying ordinance did not apply to musical boxes, of which he had two. It was not until he was seventy that he consented to the introduction of an easy chair into the household.

This stern martyrdom of the senses, physical and intellectual, left an abiding impress on George

Cadbury's character. It drove all the energy of his nature into certain swift, deep channels, and left large spaces of life—the worlds of pleasure and æsthetic emotion—wholly unexplored. It was this concentration of purpose that was the source of his remarkable achievements. Of lighter literature the children knew little, for novel reading was in those days regarded with disapproval by Friends, and the "Pilgrim's Progress" and Fox's "Book of Martyrs" represented the only type of secular literature that was looked on without disfavour. But the advent of such books as "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and "The Wide, Wide World" broke down the iron discipline and ministered to the hunger of the young mind for imaginative stimulus. The children, however, had abundance of simple, natural pleasures. Their parents denied themselves the luxury of a carriage. That would have been a weak concession to the flesh. But a couple of ponies were provided for the boys, and on these they scoured the country, and, to the sorrow of a decorous household, were reported for furious riding. Even the luxury of ponies was made the medium of education, for no stable-boy was employed, and the children were expected to saddle, bridle, and look after the animals that gave them pleasure. Then there was the life of the garden, where nectarines and peaches then grew upon the walls—showing how much purer the air of Edgbaston was then than now—and where the children



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acquired that passion for gardening and that enthusiasm for nature which later played so large a part in the ideals of social reform which George Cadbury put into practice. The day began early, for John Cadbury was abroad with his dogs every morning before breakfast, and George Cadbury acquired the habit of the early walk or ride on horseback which remained with him almost to the end of his days.

A pleasant picture of the life of the household with its mingled simplicity and reverence is furnished by Maria in some recollections of her brother Richard.

. . . Many were the games we had on the square lawn. Our father measured round it 21 times for a mile, where we used to run, one after another, with our hoops before breakfast, seldom letting them drop before reaching the mile, and sometimes a mile-and-a-half, which Richard generally did. How rosy we were, seated round the breakfast-table ready for the basin of milk provided for each child, with delicious cream on the top and toast to dip into it. Our father went for a walk each morning, starting about seven o'clock, taking his dogs with him, and we were often his companions. The roads round Edgbaston were very country-like then, with rambles across fields, and pools of water where the dogs enjoyed a swim. One pretty walk was across the fields to Ladywood House, now in Vincent Street, in the midst of the town. We returned home to breakfast punctually at eight o'clock. The family Bible reading followed, and by nine o'clock our father was ready to start for business. I can picture his rosy countenance, full of health and vigour—his Quaker dress very neat with its clean white cravat. Our dear mother was always ready to see him off with a parting kiss. At nine o'clock the school bell rang, before which we generally had a run in the garden, and the boys a game on the gymnastic poles of various kinds, one as high as a ship's mast, up which they all learned to climb. Richard was particularly clever in performing various antics on the bars. Our natural longing

for music was so far encouraged that we were allowed to buy Jew's harps with our pocket money. These we thoroughly enjoyed, having learned several Scotch airs from hearing our mother sing them. We loved to listen to the sweet lullabies with which she hushed the babies to sleep. Our father had two musical boxes in a special drawer in the bookcase. It was a great treat to us when he wound these up for our pleasure.

Our grandfather and grandmother and Aunts Maria and Ann lived not far from our house, lower down in the Calthorpe Road. Many are the happy memories of running in to see them. The door key was hung outside. I can picture grandfather, standing before the dining-room mirror, very upright, seeing that his cravat was neat and coat collar well pulled up, and gloves ready, before starting to town ; a piece of honeysuckle or southernwood or some sweet-scented spray put into the button-hole of his coat. We only knew our dear grandmother as aged and infirm, so cannot speak of the time when, as we have been told, her life was full of activities at home and among the sick and poor. We used to run into the fresh kitchen in the summer time to find our aunts in their clean morning dresses of print, and tall, white caps, busy getting up their muslins. . . .

In the old Meeting House in Bull Street an aisle went up the centre, the men sitting on the left-hand side and the women on the right. My five brothers sat in a row on the second form from the top, father facing them from his seat below the Minister's gallery, while I sat by my mother. We were brought up from childhood to go to Bull Street Meeting on a Fourth Day morning, so we had only afternoon school that day. Our father also closed his place of business in Bull Street for an hour or two, so that he and several young men Friends in his employ could attend Meeting. . . . Our home was one of sunshine. Our parents doing all they could to make us happy, and the consistency of their own lives was a great help in forming the characters and tastes of their children. Home was the centre of attraction to us all, and simple home pleasures our greatest joy.

George was sent to a day-school conducted by William Lean for the Friends, some half a mile from his home. He always expressed his satisfaction that, unlike his brothers, he had not been

sent to a boarding-school. "'God has placed men in families," he said, "and there is no influence like that of the parents upon the children." The master of the school which George attended was a strict disciplinarian, but he seems to have winked at the rough horseplay indulged in by the boys, who were just as wild as the scholars of other schools. One of the methods of "hardening" a new boy was to turn the boy's sleeves up to the elbows and his trousers up to the knees, and then to throw him into a gorse bush. In struggling to get out the boy's legs and arms became filled with thorns, the pain of which he was expected to bear with cheerful fortitude. The curriculum of the school was largely confined to the classics, and to the end of his life George Cadbury retained a love for the Bucolics of Virgil. When quite young he had lessons in French from a refugee, who took much interest in the lively lad, though he had often to threaten that "if you are not still I will tie you to de leg of de chair." To this tutor he owed his knowledge of a language which, as he said, proved more useful to him than the classics he "swatted" at school. And in so far as he claimed any accomplishment, he was proud of the accent he caught from the old French refugee.

The death of his mother when he was fourteen years of age left a lasting impression on the mind of the boy. She was a woman of retiring nature, but of great firmness of mind and character. Her life had been devoted to the training of her children and George Cadbury's happiest childish memories were of summer evenings when he sat at her knee at the window looking out over the garden, while she read aloud. She became a

victim of consumption, over which science had not then achieved those victories which have since mitigated its terrors. She sank rapidly beneath its attack, but her strength of mind and her enthusiasm for humanity remained, and a little before her end she carried out a mission among the publicans, whom she visited in a bath chair when she was no longer able to walk. Her plea with them was always that of the mother, for it was the children of whom she chiefly thought in connexion with the ravages of drink. This intense sympathy for childhood she communicated to her son, and to no purpose was he more constant throughout his life than to that of saving the children.

It was not long after his mother's death that George Cadbury's brief schooldays ended, and he was launched on his apprenticeship to business. John Cadbury shared the view of Tom Tulliver's aunt, who, when she was told that the boy was going to be apprenticed "ultimately," said, "Boys shouldn't be apprenticed ultimately ; they should be apprenticed at fifteen." It was an opinion widely entertained by the Friends of those days. They saw in much of the cultivation of the intellect not an equipment for the calling of life, but a distraction from its most important interests. There were two tasks of moment to be performed —a worldly task and a spiritual task, the culture of the soul and the earning of a livelihood. Compared with these primal duties, the pursuit of purely intellectual interests, still more the pursuit of æsthetic interests, was regarded with distrust. It was felt to be inconsistent with business and often a hindrance to the spiritual life. If a boy was to succeed in business, John Cadbury argued,

he must acquire business habits early, and so at fifteen George's schooldays ended and his work began.

The holiday habit was less cultivated sixty years ago than now, and George Cadbury never had so keen an interest in travel as Richard had. But in 1860 he took, with his cousin, R. C. Barrow, a long walking tour on the Continent, the record of which remains in a series of letters to his father. The route taken was by the Rhine and Lake Constance to the Tyrol, thence into Italy and Venice, and back by the Italian lakes and Switzerland to Chamonix. Much of the journey was made on foot or by post-wagon, and the letters are full of intimate details of the life of the people, and shrewd comments upon customs, religious traits and social conditions.





CHAPTER III

FOUNDATION OF BOURNVILLE

Richard and George Cadbury take over the Business—Early Struggles and Economies—Friendly Relations with Employees—The Turn of the Tide—Morning Service at the Works—The Lesson of the Birmingham Slums—Choice of the Bournville Site.

GEORGE CADBURY was confronted at the outset of his career with a formidable task. He and his elder brother Richard inherited from their mother a small fortune, some £5,000 each, with which to establish themselves in the world, but they inherited also a family business in a rapidly declining condition, constantly employing fewer hands, and losing money every year.

George's inclination had been towards the practice of medicine. In that profession he saw the

most immediate instrument for the purpose which was the governing motive of his life—the relief of human suffering. He had that rare combination of tenderness towards the individual distress and of apprehension of suffering in the mass—the combination, that is, of ordinary kindly human feeling touched by what it sees, and the spirit of the philanthropist acutely sensitive to the lamentation of worlds unseen. But the ambition to spend his life in relieving suffering through the physician's art was denied him. His father had in 1849 transferred the Bull Street business to his nephew, R. C. Barrow (afterwards Mayor of Birmingham), and had devoted himself to the cocoa business in Bridge Street. The latter business had fallen away, and the only hope of saving it rested with the two sons, Richard and George, who had now reached men's estate. They agreed to take up the task, and in 1861 the management of the business in Bridge Street was transferred to them. Richard was then twenty-five and George twenty-two.

The brothers were at once curiously like and unlike. Richard's was the more restful temperament. He gave his life to good works with quiet, unambitious devotion, but he was not indifferent to æsthetic interests. He had a taste for art, wrote much verse, chiefly of a religious character, delighted in sketching, had something of the collector's passion, and a love for discovering the records of the family. He would have been content to rescue the business, and declared that if he saw it making £1,000 a year he would be satisfied. George had more of the great adventurer's instinct. The channel of his mind was narrower and the current swifter. He had no æsthetic

tastes, and of personal ambition in the ordinary sense he had no trace. His view of himself was always curiously modest, and even when he had achieved a unique place in the world, any attention from those whose intellectual position commanded his respect never failed to touch him. Yet coupled with this humility was a boundless ambition, springing not from any personal aim, but from the passion for disinterested causes. Business was not an end in itself ; it was a means to an end. It was the instrument through which he could do the things that mattered. His ideas, shared by his brother, were simple but fundamental. Work, and again work, and always work ; to pay his way as he went ; to contract no liability he could not meet ; to win a reputation for honest dealing which should make the name a hall-mark ; to take care of the detail and let the total take care of itself ; to gather round him a happy, contented work-people ; to bring his faith into his affairs—these were the springs of his action. "I never looked at the small people or the people who had failed," he said in after life. "I fixed my eye on those who had won the greatest success. It was no use studying failure. I wanted to know how men succeeded, and it was their methods I examined and, if I thought them good, applied."

But, in spite of all, the struggle to save the business nearly ended in failure. When the brothers took it up the cocoa business in Bridge Street had declined so far that the employees were reduced to about a dozen hands, and of these some half-dozen girls were only receiving from 2s. 6d. to 5s. a week. The brothers faced the situation with a very definite programme. Their united

resources amounted to some £10,000. If this enabled them to turn the corner they would be content ; but it was their determination not to enter into liabilities they could not meet, and to close their business if their little fortune was exhausted. The stern discipline of their childhood was an admirable preparation for the task before them. Self-denial was habitual to them, and in those days George Cadbury stripped his life of every habit or interest which he thought would interfere with his efficiency for the immediate object before him. He cut off his morning paper—news would only distract his attention from his work. Tobacco and alcohol he never took, but he added to his abstinences at this time every form of stimulant, even tea and coffee. He loved games, especially cricket and boating, but these, too, had to be largely sacrificed. His diary at this time shows that each day was carefully planned and appropriated in advance. In winter he rose at six in the morning, was at business by seven, walked home to dinner at his father's house at Edgbaston at one, and took his tea on the business premises. He often did not leave work until nine o'clock. In the summer he rose at 5.15 a.m., and left business at six, snatching some recreation in the evening.

Writing in July, 1914, of these days of struggle he said : " I was spending at that time for travelling, clothing, charities, and everything else about £25 a year. My brother had married, and at the end of five years he only had £150. If I had been married there would have been no Bournville today—it was just the money that I saved by living so sparely that carried us over the crisis."

But it was not all work and no play at Bridge

Street. If idle amusements and intellectual speculation were not encouraged in the household there was plenty of enthusiasm for outdoor games and recreations. George not only continued his horse exercise, but with his brother organized a works' cricket team, of which they were both active members. He retained his interest in the game all his life, and even in old age confessed that the first news he turned to in his morning paper was the cricket intelligence. He delighted to recall the games of his youth, and treasured old records of them, especially of one in which he and his brother were the top scorers and took ten wickets between them. There was a characteristic quality of strenuousness about their pleasures. In the summer time they and other young men Friends used to begin the day with early morning games of hockey, football, etc. But the times he recalled with the greatest pleasure were frosty winter mornings when skating was about. "We used to rise frequently at five o'clock," he said, speaking of those days, "so as to be on the ice before dawn, and thus have two hours' exercise before going to business at nine in the city. Only those who have done this can understand the exhilaration of skating in the early morning, and watching the light break and the beauty of the sunrise."



Even in these precarious days the brothers began that close and sympathetic relationship with their workpeople which afterwards became so marked a feature of the Cadbury business. At a period when labour combination hardly existed, and when the relations of employer and employed were the relations of nakedly hostile interests, the

Cadburys adopted a more enlightened attitude, primarily due to the sympathy with the working classes which their association with the Adult School Movement engendered, and secondly because they saw that co-operation and not friction between employer and employee was a condition of business success. They encouraged punctuality and other habits necessary to the success of the business by a scale of incentives ; but they did much more to win the loyalty of their workpeople by the happy personal relations they established with them. They were the first firm in Birmingham to adopt the principle of the Saturday half-holiday, which subsequently became the universal application. They went in and out among the workpeople like old friends, knew everyone by his or her Christian name, played cricket and other games with them when an afternoon could be spared. The Bridge Street Sick Club made Christmas the occasion of an annual party, which was held at first in the stock-room over the warehouse. As the numbers grew it became necessary to hold the party at the Priory Rooms, and at this point the firm took over the Christmas entertainment. On these occasions the young employers moved about among their guests, filling empty teacups, cracking jokes, and providing amusement and little speeches on the progress of the year. Many of the friendships of these early days continued unbroken into a new century, and there were few pleasanter hours in George Cadbury's later days than those he spent in visiting aged pensioners of the firm and talking with them of the old struggles of half a century before in Bridge Street.

Those struggles were a matter of common know-

ledge to the workpeople. They knew that the business was in the balance and that any day they might learn that the end had come. They saw nothing of this anxiety in the bearing of the brothers. Their first year, 1861, had left them with a serious deficit. The next was still more unfortunate, and in 1863 they were approaching the end of their resources. Loyal to the decision with which they had started, they refused to embark on any expenditure they could not cover or to consider the advisability of continuing the business on borrowed capital. Each was preparing his plans for a new career. George Cadbury had decided to start for the Himalayas to take up tea planting, and Richard proposed to become a land surveyor.

There came a turn of the tide, however, in 1864. For the first time since the brothers had taken it up, the business showed not merely expansion, but a balance on the right side. If it had not weathered the storm it gave promise of doing so. Many rival enterprises in the industry had failed, and the achievement of success was now largely a question of survival. Encouraged by the check in the stream of loss, the brothers held on with renewed energy, consolidating their position, strengthening their relations with the workpeople, extending their operations, devoting to every detail of the business that meticulous attention so characteristic of a type of mind that regarded nothing as trivial. At that time, said George Cadbury in a speech made at a New Year's party at the Edgbaston Assembly Rooms in 1921, they made a cocoa of which they were not very proud. Only one-fifth of it was cocoa, the rest being potato starch, sago

flour, and treacle. Other manufacturers made the same article—a comforting gruel. Among the thirty manufacturers engaged in the trade at that time they were the smallest, and they made about the lowest class of goods. The small shopkeepers were constantly failing, and the firm lost money. They were not content, however, to go on making such extremely common cocoa, and after six years they made a cocoa for drinking, taking out the cocoa butter instead of adding flour to counteract it. They were the first house in the kingdom to do so, and no other manufacturer followed their example for many years. At the end of about thirty years they held the first position in the trade, and used one-third of the cocoa imported into England.

The tea-planting project receded into the background as, with each year, victory became more and more assured. The range of the business widened. The name became not only a household word throughout England : it became familiar to all the world. The firm had its agencies in the Far East and throughout the British Empire. It acquired its own cocoa estates in Trinidad. It developed the character of a great self-contained industry, supplying all the multitudinous requirements from within and reducing the margin of waste in every direction to the minimum.

It was at the time when the business was just emerging from years of failure that George Cadbury began the practice of opening the day with a brief service for his workpeople. The practice had a simple origin. In the first years of struggle George Cadbury breakfasted with the workpeople, and during the interval read aloud to them from

some book of general interest. From this habit came the idea that if worship in the family circle was good, it was capable of extension to the wider circle with whom he was in contact all day. The custom was not without precedent. His grandfather, Richard Tapper Cadbury, had set the example in his business fifty years before, and at the cocoa works of the family of Messrs. Fry at Bristol the practice had been followed for some years.

George Cadbury wrote to Joseph Storrs Fry in 1866 for information as to the scheme adopted at Bristol, and received in reply a very detailed account of the methods and benefits of the system —the arrangements for light and ventilation, the separate entrances for women and men, the manner of the service, and so on. "I would remark," added Joseph Fry in a postscript. "that in addition to the religious benefit which may be looked for, I think that there is a great advantage in bringing the workpeople once a day under review. It is often a means of observing their conduct and checking any tendency to impropriety."

When George commenced the morning service in 1866 the workpeople of the firm, men and women, numbered only from seventy to eighty, and the gathering had much of the intimacy of a family circle in which every man was known by his Christian name. The service began with a scripture reading, which was followed by silence for prayer. Subsequently a hymn was added in order that all might have a share in the service, and later a brief practical address, which George Cadbury gave, and to which he devoted careful preparation, was included in the service. The

daily service was continued for thirty years. Then it was found necessary to limit the services to three times a week. By this time the workpeople numbered nearly 5,000, and as it was possible for only a third of these to attend at a time the service took a weekly rather than a daily character. But it was still cherished by the workpeople, and George Cadbury was delighted when in 1911 the management committee received from the men's committee a request for the more regular holding of the morning meeting, coupled with a suggestion that in the absence of one of the directors one of the local clergy or ministers should be invited to conduct the service. Of the impressiveness of the services, the late Dean Kitchin has left a record in an article published in 1910. He was speaking of the employment of married women, and referring to the firm's rule against such employment he wrote :

> . . . I once had the privilege of being present at the morning prayer at his works. It was a women's day (they have no room large enough to hold all their workpeople at once), the short reading, kind words and simple prayer, preceded by a hymn sung by three thousand women's voices, was a revelation of religious purity and simplicity at full force. And in this vast multitude, all dressed in pure white and ready for a day's active work, there was not a single married woman. For Mr. Cadbury will never take the mothers away from their homes and children ; he told me, with a grave smile, that when he had allowed married women to work for him, he found that their husbands were quite content to loaf about doing nothing, living on the wages of their wives ; and, he added, that the poor things invariably came back after child-bearing to work long before they were fit to work.

As the volume of the trade of the firm increased, and with it the number of employees, the

firm, now completely established, had to face the problem of accommodation. The Bridge Street works, which had been the scene of their struggles, were outgrown. They could be enlarged and adapted, but they were not capable of such an expansion as would make them sufficient for a business whose future could not easily be measured. It became necessary to consider the question of the provision of a new factory. It was this necessity which discovered the real genius of George Cadbury. There was nothing remarkable in the establishment of a successful business. George Cadbury's claim to distinction is that he gave a new direction to business, enlarged its scope, and made it the ally of social reform. The congestion of industry in the towns he saw to be physically and morally degrading. He was depressed by the development going on before his eyes in Birmingham—the gardens he remembered as a boy sinking into slums, without light and air ; the workers being crowded together in wretched dwellings and driven to the public-houses as the only escape from the sordidness of their surroundings. Why should not industry be allied with natural conditions ? Why should its progress be associated with the lowering of the standard of life and living ? If it was not a lever for raising human conditions it was condemned. The triumph of machinery, the cheapening of commodities were not ends in themselves ; they were only means to an end, the increase of true wealth, which is life. These ideas, which pressed upon him with deepening insistence, are commonplaces to-day ; but they



were far from commonplaces among business men forty or fifty years ago.

A few clear-sighted men looked beyond the sphere of political readjustment and saw that necessary as that readjustment was it was only an instrument. Dickens had declared his conviction that "the reform of the habitations of the people must precede all other reforms, and that without it all other reforms must fail." But popular though his writings were, he had made as yet little impression on the official mind. Ruskin had been openly derided for proclaiming a political economy which approached the problem of society from the point of view of life and not of things. It was at this time, when the question of the condition of the people only appealed to the minds of men who were regarded as fanatics, that George Cadbury—guided, not like Ruskin by the swift intuitions of genius and passion, but by close experience of the real life of the people and sympathy with their needs—arrived at conclusions precisely like those which the great critic was proclaiming in his writings. He arrived at them because his vision was not obscured by traditional ways of thinking nor limited by his own interest or by immediate expediency. He saw that the disregard with which industry used its instruments was not only ruinous to the moral of the people, but deplorably wasteful. It was not necessary that a factory should be in a town and that its workers should be in a slum. On the contrary, it was necessary that men should be healthy and instructed if they were to be efficient workmen. They could not be that if they grew up in the conditions which he saw in Birmingham.

This train of thinking ran side by side with the immediate problem of the future—the problem of providing more factory accommodation. Finally the two subjects merged into one thought, and out of that thought sprang a decision which not only gave a new tendency to business development, but was destined to grow into a social experiment that attracted world-wide attention. The decision, briefly, was to build a new factory not in Birmingham but in the country.

The site selected for this new departure was a pleasant, undulating country, some four miles from the centre of Birmingham, and situated to the left of the Bristol Road. Through the meadows and by the woodlands there flowed a trout stream known as the Bourn, which gave its name to the garden city that was to become the archetype of so many experiments in England and elsewhere. Few houses existed in the district, the nearest villages, Stirchley, Selly Oak, and King's Norton, being then quite detached from Birmingham, and thinly populated. The two former have since become ugly and populous suburbs of Birmingham, almost enclosing Bournville Village on three sides. The estate bought by the brothers for their new factory consisted of green fields on the banks of the trout stream. It was fifteen acres in extent, and had the advantage of easy access by rail and canal to all centres of commerce and population. The natural advantages of the spot were conspicuous. The air was pure, and the water good and abundant. The situation left ample room for development, and that fact was of capital import-



ance in the opinion of George Cadbury and his brother. They could not foresee the magnitude of the possibilities before them, but with characteristic caution they resolved to leave themselves scope for any extension. At this time, although the business had become firmly established and very prosperous, it was still comparatively modest, employing fewer than 300 hands. Its development had been deliberately restricted in one direction after the passing of the Adulteration of Food Act in 1872. This Act made it incumbent upon manufacturers to state clearly the fact of any admixture of adulterants with their commodities. The brothers took the occasion afforded by this very admirable piece of legislation to cease the production of the cheaper kinds of cocoa, notably the mixture known as "pearl cocoa." This had meant a large immediate reduction in the volume of trade, but the sacrifice was made with a view to making the name of the firm a hall-mark of quality. "Absolutely pure" became henceforth the motto of Cadbury Brothers. Subsequent events more than justified the severance of their connexion with the cheaper productions of the industry. At the time, however, it needed the exercise of some courage.

If George Cadbury was deliberate in arriving at a decision, he was energetic in carrying a decision into effect when once it had been taken. There was naturally a good deal of criticism in Birmingham of the Cadbury scheme. It was novel, and novel things are suspect. The ordinary business view was that the brothers were embarking on a wild adventure which had no precedent, and would end in disaster. The concentration of

industry in towns was the normal and invariable fact, and any departure from it was a revolt against something which had almost the authority of a natural law. The disadvantages were obvious. The remoteness from the supply of labour and from the conveniences of a great city could not be compensated by illusory advantages like fresh air and natural conditions. The brothers listened to their critics respectfully, and went on with their scheme. They had not overlooked its disadvantages, but they believed they were negligible compared with the real gains involved. Moreover they were able to minimize the disadvantages in many ways. For example, they made terms with the railway company which secured cheap weekly tickets for the workpeople, most of whom must for a long time live in Birmingham, and as favourable rates for goods as those they had hitherto enjoyed. The site of the factory was chosen on that part of the estate nearest the railway station, and the work of construction was pushed forward with every incentive to expedition. The building was not begun until the end of March, 1879, and in the following October the exodus from Bridge Street took place. In the meantime George Cadbury had married, in his thirty-fourth year, Mary, daughter of Charles Tylor, of London, and had made his home at Woodbrooke, in close proximity to the new estate. At the time of the removal to Bournville there were two sons, Edward and George, and three other children, Henry Tylor, Isabel and Eleanor were subsequently born. It was at Woodbrooke that he sustained the heaviest bereavement that had befallen him, the death of the wife to whom he was devoted.

Even in its infancy the new factory and its surroundings contained the germ of all the ideas subsequently developed on so large and elaborate a scale. Those ideas proceeded upon two main lines, the efficiency of the business and the welfare of the workers. Richard and George Cadbury, it is true, did not regard these ideas as separate, but as, ultimately, one. They had a personal affection for their workpeople and a general enthusiasm for humanity; but they also saw that the efficiency of their business depended less upon machinery and methods than upon the human element engaged in it. They knew, and declared it as a part of their business gospel, that their consideration for their workpeople was profitable from the business as well as the social point of view. It was this belief in the business factor in industrial betterment that was at the root of their experiment, and the new premises bore witness to the belief from the beginning. Thus when the workpeople arrived they found a cricket and football field for the men and a wide playground for the girls, with swings and other provision for outdoor enjoyment. And though it was not yet possible to carry out to the full the idea of transferring the whole life of the workpeople to natural surroundings, a commencement had been made by the erection of sixteen semi-detached houses on the road to the south of the works. These houses, with the factory, were the beginning of the Bournville of to-day. They were provided for the foremen at the factory, and though large and roomy, with front and back garden to



each, were made economically available at a rent of five shillings a week. At the back of these houses was an orchard planted with apple, plum, pear, and cherry trees, and at a point in the fields near by where the Bourn widened into a pool, an open-air swimming bath was constructed for the men. Within the works there was the same attention to the comfort and efficiency of the workpeople. Separate dining-rooms were provided for the men and women, and the kitchen arrangements were conceived on a scale unique in those days. The old custom originated by John Cadbury of all the work girls wearing washing dresses while at their occupation, was continued. The material was provided by the firm, free the first dress, and afterwards at less than cost price, and the girls were required to start work in a clean frock every Monday morning. This gave the girls that clean and self-respecting appearance, both within and without the works, which then and afterwards, impressed all visitors to Bournville.

With the removal to Bournville, the business entered on a new chapter. The brothers had exchanged the squalid outlook of Bridge Street for an office from which they stepped out into a pleasant garden with rose trees and shrubs. Around them were the green fields and the woodlands, springing flowers and the song of birds. They had realised the dream of years, and could look forward to its complete fulfilment with confidence.



CHAPTER IV

THE ADULT SCHOOL

The Work of Joseph Sturge—George Cadbury begins Work at the Severn Street School—Squalid Surroundings—The Virtues of Burglars—The Selly Oak Institute—George Cadbury's Indifference to Creeds—The "Swan with Two Necks"—Relations of Teacher and Scholar.

THERE was one interest, however, which kept George Cadbury almost to the end of his life in intimate contact with Birmingham. This was the Adult School movement. In his business philosophy and practice George Cadbury acted on the maxim of Emerson, that "the one prudence in life is concentration; the one evil dissipation." "Stick to one business, young man," said Rothschild to Buxton, "stick to your brewery, and you will be the greatest brewer of London. Be brewer,

and banker, and manufacturer, and merchant, and you will soon be in the *Gazette*." Until his later years, when, under the compulsion of what seemed to him a public duty, he entered into a newspaper enterprise, George Cadbury confined his business activities to the industry with which his name is associated. But side by side with his business there was one interest to which he remained constant throughout his career. With his tradition and temperament he would in any case have applied himself to public-spirited causes; but it was undoubtedly his association with the Adult School movement which gave impetus to his thought and direction to his social enterprise. It brought him into direct contact with the poor, and supplied him with that first-hand knowledge of the problems of industry which made him a pioneer in social reform.

Nowhere was the inadequacy of the machinery for controlling the development of the community more apparent than in Birmingham. That city had grown by leaps and bounds under the new industrial stimulus, and its character had changed more completely perhaps than that of any other provincial city with the exception of Manchester. The open fields and garden spaces were being covered with a huddle of mean streets, filled with a population largely illiterate, and almost wholly outside the appeal of the churches. The people were divorced from the wholesome sanities of nature, and found their only escape from the squalor of their conditions in the public-houses. To those who were concerned for the future, the transformation was a cause of profound



disquiet, and among the Society of Friends it aroused a sense of the need of some movement to counteract the demoralizing tendencies of the new industrialism.

The feeling found its expression through Joseph Sturge, a man of enlightened and public-spirited mind, whose name is associated in the annals of Birmingham with many admirable causes. The idea to which he gave form did not originate with him. It first took root in Nottingham as far back as 1798, when William Singleton and Samuel Fox opened a Sunday School for adults, in which reading and writing were taught as well as the Bible. This school, which still exists, was visited by Joseph Sturge in 1842, and he was so impressed by the practical and spiritual qualities of the work that he considered the idea of introducing it to Birmingham. It was not, however, until 1845 that, with his brother, he found it convenient to make the experiment. It was at the Severn Street Schools that the movement was begun. The immediate purpose was educational. The school gathered together the illiterate dwellers of the slums in the early hours of Sunday morning, and provided them with instruction in the rudiments of learning. The proportion of illiterates in the working-class population of those days was very high, and remained high until the generation which was brought under the Education Act of 1870 grew up. The practice in the Adult School in its early days was to divide the scholars in two classes. During the first part of the morning one class studied reading and writing while the other attended a lesson in Scripture; during the second part of the morning the position was reversed.

George Cadbury taught hundreds of Birmingham men to read and write in the first thirty years of his work as an Adult School teacher.

But reading and writing were only a necessary means to an end. The ultimate aim of the school was to divert the lives of the scholars into better channels, to give them new interests and higher aims, to teach them habits of thrift and independence; in a word, to make bad citizens into good citizens. As the movement developed it assumed an elastic and individual character. It imposed no tests, and it carefully avoided any suggestion of patronage or pauperism, or of sectarianism. The Adult School was not, even at this early stage of its development, a Sunday School in the ordinary sense.

"It is," as has been said, "a sort of co-operative system of carrying on a class in which one is our Master, even Christ. It is not an adult Bible class. It is not a temperance society; men may come if they are not teetotallers, but curiously enough men do often become teetotallers by going to an Adult School. It is not a Church, nor a religious denomination. It is not sectarian. It certainly is not a club, because the aims of the Adult School work are distinctly religious. While it teaches habits of thrift and has banks and benefit societies, it does not tell men that their work ends there, or that that is the larger part of the work. The school is democratic. The men in it have a hand in the management of the school, and are made to feel that upon them rests the progress of the movement. It neither patronizes nor pauperizes the working classes. The men pay for their own schools; they like it. It is a special glory of our

Adult School system that every man can take a place of usefulness in it, and may do his part in making the school a power for good. 'What makes your city strong?' said a stranger to the King of Sparta; 'you have no walls and towers and gates.' 'We are strong,' came the answer, 'because the men of Sparta are our walls, and every man a brick.' We answer, 'Our strength, so far as it depends on human means, lies in the fact that we believe in every man finding work to do, and putting all his energy of brotherly love into the doing of it.' Our Adult Schools, then, are manufactories for workmen to work in, not Unions for paupers and beggars. Spiritual paupers and beggars are sadly too common among the churches. Sometimes even one or two have been known to stray into an Adult School—men who accept all the privileges without discharging any of the responsibilities. . . . To take a weak, disheartened brother and make a man of him is a fine piece of work, and a work that our Adult Schools have done in thousands of cases by means of brotherly love."

Into this movement George Cadbury threw himself with the intensity of a mind whose energies were narrowed into few channels, and were all motived by a single purpose. That purpose was service. "The service of God," he used to say, "is the service of man. We can do nothing of any value to God, except in acts of genuine helpfulness done to our fellowmen." When he joined the Severn Street School in 1859, the movement was still chiefly confined to its original home. The scholars numbered several hundreds, and among the teachers connected with it was William White,

who next to Joseph Sturge, may be regarded as the father of the Adult School movement in Birmingham.

It was under the auspices of William White that George Cadbury, then twenty years of age, began his connexion with the Adult School. He was placed in charge of a small class of boys, and for the next four years served his apprenticeship to the cause in this modest sphere. In 1863 he had a classroom allocated to him, and began that connexion with Class XIV which continued unbroken for half a century, and from which sprang a wide-spread development of the movement in Birmingham in later years. The class, which numbered some three hundred men, grew up with him from youth to manhood. It became not so much a class as a companionship of old friends, of which George Cadbury was less a leader than an elder. It included a large proportion of intelligent working men from self-respecting homes ; but many of the members came from the most degraded surroundings, and learned the rudiments of reading and writing in the elementary sections of the class. They were brought in from the slums or the public-houses, or even from the prison gate. For membership of the class had no meaning unless it was inspired by a missionary fervour. The members must go out into the highways and byways, down into the lodging-houses and the mean streets, and bring in those who were outside the Churches and all the civilizing influences of life.

There was no standing on niceties in this work. If a man could not be induced to attend in a sober condition, then he must be welcomed in a drunken

condition ; if he was ragged he must be made to feel at home in his rags ; if he failed to reappear, then a search party must go out to bring him back. In this search work the leader would often be himself an ex-thief or drunkard, familiar with all the haunts of the vicious and submerged, and having the password of that class. It was in such circumstances that the Adult Class of those days found its raw material and George Cadbury his most pleasurable activity. Business success came to him in overwhelming measure, but the material fruits of that success did not engage his thoughts. It was the victories of his Class in the slums that were the source of his happiness, and if in the crowds that he used to entertain at Woodbrooke and later at Northfield he could show you some new treasure torn from the dens of Birmingham his eyes would beam with delight. He had an infinite capacity for believing the best of people, with a view largely of making the best of them. He could even believe well of housebreakers. One of these sent him a letter once in which he said : "Some four years ago I came from Worcester Prison. Your advice to me then was, 'You must live it down.' I took your wise words to heart, and ultimately have won all along the line."

"The man who wrote this letter to me," said George Cadbury in speaking of it, "brought two or three other housebreakers into the class. I found them by no means entirely bad men, but they told me it was not only for the sake of the gain but for the enjoyment of the risk that they found it most difficult to give up the occupation. There was the element of what they termed good or bad

luck as to the extent of the haul they would make in a house. This man took a situation, and is doing well in Canada. One of the men he brought to the class told me 'he dared not walk through the streets of Birmingham lest he should be attacked by his old pals, who would be afraid now that he had changed his life he would betray them.' He went to London. The old love of adventure came over another, and he was caught after an exciting chase over house roofs by the police. Since my intercourse with these men I have had a sort of respect for housebreakers—there is better material in them than in the ordinary street thief."

A characteristic letter from George Cadbury to Commissioner Sturgess of the Salvation Army in London, written on Oct. 12th, 1903, shows the pains he would take to secure for a man a fresh start in life. He wrote:

GEORGE CADBURY *to* COMMISSIONER STURGESS

. . . I am sending by the train leaving Birmingham at 8.45 a.m. on Tuesday, arriving at Euston at 11.10, George ————, of 9 Back Saltley Street, Saltley. Would you meet him on arrival at Euston, as I think he is rather afraid of meeting thieves in London whom he knows, and that they would drag him back again into his old occupation. He is short, has rather a pointed nose, and has lost several teeth. He has just come out of prison for housebreaking, and is anxious to lead a new life. He wanted to go to Canada to break away from his old companions, but for many reasons I thought it better, if possible, that he should be reclaimed in this country. I enclose cheque for £5 towards cost of his board, etc., for a time. If he is strong enough it would no doubt be a fine thing for him to go to Hadleigh and work in the open air.

In 1877 the meeting place of Class XIV was

changed from Severn Street to the Board School in Bristol Street, and with the change the activities of the class widened. George Cadbury's favourite maxim was that men were "saved to serve," and his constant aim was to make his class a missionary enterprise. Under the stimulus of this idea, Class XIV became the parent of a large number of branches in the city and suburbs. The first of these off-shoots founded by members of the class took root in Selly Oak in 1881, and from this other branches, which George Cadbury used to playfully call his "grandchildren," had their source.

There was much opposition to the Adult School movement among the publicans, founded on very substantial reasons. The movement reached those who were the raw material of the exploiter and aimed at providing them with the means of a more wholesome life. "Man is a citizen of two worlds," George Cadbury used to say. "I have not been a teacher of a men's class for fifty years and seen many hundreds brought out of the darkness into God's marvellous light without learning that the best way to improve a man's circumstances is to raise his ideals. But it is not enough to talk to him about ideals. How can he cultivate ideals when his home is a slum and his only possible place of recreation the public-house? Some people would leave the people in their degrading surroundings while they discussed their moral and spiritual theories about raising them. To win them to better ideals you must give them better conditions of life. The material and the



spiritual react on each other." He was very insistent on keeping the spiritual aspect of the movement uppermost, and while sympathetic with the thrift clubs associated with it, would strongly denounce any tendency to make such accessories the main features of the work.

But in regard to the provision of alternatives to the public-house he had no doubt. Men must have recreations. If they could not get good recreations then they would have bad. He held that it was the duty of the community to provide facilities for the wholesome pleasures of the people; but till that was done effectively then voluntary movements such as the Adult School should aim at supplying the deficiency. With this idea he encouraged the establishment, in connexion with the class at Selly Oak, of a social club where the members could meet in the evening for reading, billiards, and other amusements. From this seed sprang the Selly Oak Institute, which George Cadbury built in 1894, and presented to the public. The Institute was intended primarily for the Society of Friends, the Adult School, and its activities. But it was not limited to sectarian use. George Cadbury aimed at making it the centre of local life, and vesting it in trustees; he provided that it should be available for any local purpose, and that in the event of the Society of Friends ceasing to require it, it should be handed over entirely to the local governing body. Later he presented the village of Northfield with an Institute planned on the same broad lines, and as the offspring of Class XIV increased in the vicinity of his home he provided other buildings for their use.

But while he took a keen interest in these suburban extensions of the Adult School work his own activities were still centred in Birmingham, The claims of the great city with which he had been associated all his life were the first charge upon his energies, and whether living at Woodbrooke or Northfield he never failed, except when absent from home, to be present with his class, no matter what the weather or the season might be, until he was seventy-two. Every Sunday morning he was up at 5.30, and an hour later was on his way. At first he usually covered the five miles or so on horseback, but later he took to the bicycle. His reason for doing so was characteristic. "I used to go on horseback," he said, speaking at the Browning Hall when well over seventy, "but now I cycle. The horse needs the attention of a man at each end of the journey, but the cycle gives no trouble at either end." At the breakfast table, where the teachers met at seven o'clock, before dispersing to their classes, he was the soul of geniality. He had that unfailing good humour which survives the test of the breakfast hour and that general friendliness of spirit which made everyone at home in his company.

He was accustomed to lament his lack of technical training for the task of teaching, but his natural qualities for the work were remarkable. His addresses to his class at the Bible lesson were at once simple and searching.[1] They applied with

[1] In a letter to Mrs. Cadbury, written after the death of her husband, Mr. Philip H. Wicksteed recalled George Cadbury's methods in his class: "Very specially," he said, "I remember the Sunday morning on which I cycled with Mr. Cadbury to the Adult School, which I addressed at his request, though I could not get hold of the audience very firmly—and then *his* remarks, ranging with little system over any number of subjects, politi-

singular directness and homely force the teachings of Christianity to the practical affairs of life and were enriched by his rare acquaintance with the Bible and his practical sympathy with the difficulties of life. About creed he was wholly silent. "I believe that self-denying united service in Christ's name," he said, "is a far closer bond of union than agreement as to creed. It is the spirit that makes alive. I do not ask a man what he believes. If he is a drunkard let him put away the drink; if he is a gambler let him put away the gambling; if he is a domestic tyrant let him govern his temper. This is the living test, 'that he put off the old man' with his deeds and have the new man."

The class was for men of all churches or none. He would tell with delight how this man, rescued from the most degraded conditions, had become associated with the Catholic Church, and how that one whom he had seen carried drunk and violent through the street by four policemen had, after coming under the influence of the school, been for years the caretaker of one of the Anglican churches, insisting on receiving no pay. "To whom much was forgiven the same loved much." One of his greatest triumphs was to find that of

cal, domestic, religious, but every word with grip in it and striking right home to experience—and then—I was going to say 'above' all, but I will say 'as' memorable as anything—his conversational notes to me, on the subjects, on the people, on this man's face or that man's history; on Jews, on drunkards, on animals, and how they knew everything about the people they lived with. How the cat (this in his remarks to the 'Adults' and à propos of St. Francis's love of animals and understanding with them) would be the first person in the house to know if the man had 'become a Christian.' He expatiated to me on this afterwards. All was so keen and vivid, nothing escaped his eye, and his heart interpreted swiftly and surely whatever his eye saw. How often have I quoted him since."

fourteen teachers in a Church of England Sunday School situated in one of the poorest parts of Birmingham, twelve had been members of his class. He lost no opportunity of interesting members of other communions in the work, and of giving them the opportunity of benefiting their churches by it. An illustration of this is furnished in the following passage from a letter to one of his sons, in which he relates how he introduced the Rev. F. H. Gillingham, the famous batsman, to the Adult School work:

GEORGE CADBURY *to* H. T. CADBURY

Yesterday morning I went to the 7 o'clock breakfast and met a number of the old members of Class XIV. I also stayed in the Class about half-an-hour and saw a great many as they came in. At 8 o'clock I went to Rea Street, and then went on to the "Swan with Two Necks"—old public-house in Cheapside. It struck me that it would be a good plan to bring Mr. Gillingham—in whose parish the Class is—to see it, so I went on to the Rectory. The servant looked rather astonished at my coming at that early hour, and ushered me into a parlour, where after waiting some time Mr. Gillingham came down in his vestments. I told him what was the object of my visit and he seemed very pleased. He said he had often passed the "Swan with Two Necks" and had longed to know something about the work going on there. I thought a sporting parson would be just right to get hold of these rough men, and independently of this he is a good sincere man. He took off his vestments, put on a cap, and came with me. We found a number of the men in the room formerly used for teaching Edgbaston young men boxing—a celebrated retired boxer owned the public-house and used to teach them there. Mr. Gillingham is very anxious to get a men's meeting, and there he met the right kind of men to give his work a start. He spoke a few words to them, taking as his illustration "The Three Wickets," and he said no one could tell the delight after making a score of 96 to send a ball to the boundary and hit up to the 100. It laid hold of the men and some of them promised to help him to get up his men's

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meeting. He would meet at the "Swan with Two Necks" some of the men that had been a terror to the neighbourhood, drunkards, etc. It was rather remarkable that I should have it on my mind to bring him down and he should have it on his mind to go and see the men—some people call it mental telepathy.

This reference to the "Swan with Two Necks" calls attention to one of the most important developments of the Adult School work carried out under the inspiration of George Cadbury in Birmingham itself. He felt that to reach some of the most hopeless cases it was useless to ask them to come to the school; the schools must be taken to them. They must have places where they would have familiar surroundings and there they would feel at home. The first experiment in establishing these branches in the slums was made in Darwin Street. An old factory, very much out of repair, and very dirty, was taken and put into decent condition, largely by the voluntary work of members of the class themselves, some of them carpenters, bricklayers and painters, who spent their Saturday afternoons and spare evenings in making the premises clean and attractive. At the end of a year seventy-four men had joined the class which had been started in the new premises. Most of these came from the lowest conditions of society, and the influence on their lives was visible and remarkable. It was still more visible in their homes, and it was in the homes that George Cadbury first looked for the results of his work. When a woman got up at the annual meeting of the class and said she had had "more happiness in the one year since her husband had joined the class than she had had in the twenty-nine years of

her married life before," George Cadbury remarked that that was the true test of the work. "If I want to know whether men are truly converted," he said, "I do not go to the church where they attend, but to the home to find out whether their professions are turned into realities, whether they are less selfish, their tempers under better control, their wives happier, their children better fed and clothed."

The idea of decentralizing the work of the class, of giving it habitations as it were in the heart of the slums, was advanced another step when George Cadbury acquired the Coppersmith's Arms, a decadent tavern in Rea Street, a district which had given the police more trouble than any other in Birmingham. This was converted into a school and club. The nature of the change and of the work done was described in *The Birmingham Daily Post* in 1902, in which the writer said:

> Out of the ashes, as it were, of a decadent tavern, has risen an institution of increasing usefulness to the immediate neighbourhood. As an off-shoot of the early morning school at Severn Street, the Coppersmith Arms can hardly know itself to-day. It is perfectly safe to say the Coppersmith Arms has known no such transformation of itself since it sought with its beer and skittles to beguile the passing public with its narrow portals. Gone are the tempting pots of foaming fourpenny and the glistening handles of the beer machine. A coffee-urn adorns the counter, and on the shelves repose an array of mineral water bottles. The kitchen at the rear serves as a recreation-room, and what in the "good old days" was the brew-house has now become a bagatelle-room with rough benches, white-washed walls and a stove in place of the furnace. Stairs at the yard door lead up to a regenerated workshop, now a clean and fairly comfortable meeting room for the Sunday morning classes, with adjacent apartments for writing instruction, a small library, and an extra chamber (two bedrooms knocked

into one) for ping-pong and other recreations. One need not seek far for the reason of the change. The Coppersmith Arms has now become a school and social club, modest in its pretensions, yet none the less fruitful in good work. Established eighteen months ago up a yard on the opposite side of the street, the school took to the Coppersmith Arms six months ago. Since then the membership has risen until there are at least 150 names on the list to-day. Sixpence a week entitles a man to sick pay, the enjoyment of the recreative life of the place, and "incidental" benefit, in case he may fall out of employment. Wisely enough total abstinence is not made a *sine qua non* of the membership. But as the attendant explains "many of 'em soon give up the drink entirely." Among the converts which the school claims to-day are at least two men whose right to be regarded as the worst drunkards in Birmingham might at one time have passed almost unchallenged. "A better lot of fellows you could not wish to meet," declares the attendant as he proceeds to indicate the wholesome effect which the school and club are exercising on the dissipated life of Rea Street and its immediate vicinity. True, there have been difficulties with the subscriptions, and the committee had had seriously to discuss the question of arrears, but "things were mending now." Then again there were troublesome customers, familiars of the Coppersmith Arms, no doubt, in rebellion against the spirit of innovation, who occasionally paid a visit and created a scene. The school, it seems, also brings a little cheerfulness into the lives of the women of the neighbourhood. They have a Sunday afternoon class, and on Monday afternoons the "old ladies" are entertained to tea. Of these schools about half-a-dozen have been established, and Sunday next will witness the opening of yet another at Balsall Heath. That they are doing a great deal for the pleasure and profit of that section of the community which has most need of them is beyond question. And written down modestly at the back of it all is that name so honourably associated with the uplifting of the masses—that of Cadbury.

Other derelict public-houses, among them the "Swan with Two Necks," already referred to, underwent a similar metamorphosis, and as the

years went on the Adult School had outposts in many of the worst quarters of Birmingham. Writing to Mr. Archibald, many years afterwards, on June 18th, 1919, George Cadbury discussed the use of humble quarters for an Adult School:

GEORGE CADBURY *to* MR. ARCHIBALD

I was very glad to see the article in the *Sunday School Chronicle* on your work in the lofts. I told you originally when you went there that my experience in getting hold of men as an adult School teacher convinced me that they were much more likely to be useful than a costly building. In two cases when establishing classes for the very worst of men I took old factories up very steep ladders. The first was most successful, and I got hold of the very worst men in the neighbourhood; one man when partly drunk on Saturday afternoon helped whitewash the attic, and though it was some fifteen or twenty years ago he has been a devoted adult scholar and good steady man ever since. He was only a type of many others. The other was up a still worse ladder in Rea Street, which street was at that time said by the police to produce the most crime of any street in Birmingham, where we got hold of the very lowest men.

In the first place I built a room that cost £1,000, and the Class never flourished after it left the loft and went into a comfortable room. In the second place, I bought an old public-house, where the Class did continue fairly well until we moved into a good room in a Board School. In the third case, I bought an old public-house famed many years ago for its betting matches, in a part of Birmingham where no religious work whatever had been done for some fifty years; there also we got hold of some of the roughest men.

My experience thus proved to me that what men of this class need is the simple Gospel and keeping before them the example of Jesus Christ. This will fill the churches, whereas many ministers airing their knowledge of theology empty them. I am almost converted to Wells's idea in "God the Invisible King"; he says that he, like Professor Huxley, believes in religion but does not believe in theology.

Wherever the Adult School movement penetrated it carried with it the various social activities of which it was the spiritual nucleus. In the work of the school itself time had wrought some change. It was still possible in certain slum centres to find grown-up men in an elementary class struggling with the rudiments of secular learning for a part of the early morning session; but generally speaking the Education Act of 1870 had rendered this phase of the movement obsolete, and the time originally devoted to reading and writing was given to lectures and other matters common to the school. These preceded the separation into classes for the Bible lesson, which, opened by the leader, developed into a general discussion and was regarded as the main feature of the work. After the lesson the classes reassembled for a brief period, and then the school dispersed in time to allow their members to attend their respective churches. But the original idea of making the school a centre of citizenship was maintained and developed. There was associated with it a complete scheme of social effort, systematic visiting, provident societies, libraries, club rooms, recreations, cycling, cricket and angling clubs, and so on. And in all the phases of the movement the idea of making the men responsible for the control and extension of the work was preserved.

In this task, which was the most constant and most pleasurable of all the activities of George Cadbury's long life, he was happy in the co-operation of the members of his own family. Mrs. George Cadbury was the leader of a women's section of Class XIV, comprising several classes, and George Cadbury's sons and nephews also

engaged in Adult School work, his son Edward founding a youths' class which also met at Bristol Street, and was attended by the sons of many of the adult scholars of his father. This class was carried on subsequently by Edward's brother George with great success.

The freedom of George Cadbury from any sense of social distinction, and his sincere love for humanity, enabled him to preserve the most affectionate relations with his scholars. There was no touch of patronage in his attitude, for he had no consciousness of superiority. Nor did he attempt to strengthen his hold by encouraging that gratitude which is the fruit of expected favours. He would not win a man by bribes, for his aim was not to make men servile but to give them self-respect. No doubt he sometimes departed from the rigour of his rules, for his natural impulse was incurably generous, and with all his philosophy his heart was easily melted by a tale of distress. It was very much more easy for him to think good of others than evil. But his relations with his class were essentially democratic and brotherly, and free from any charitable taint. He of course entertained the members at Northfield on a Saturday afternoon in the summer; then there was the procession that used to march out with bands and singing from Birmingham to the Manor on a Sunday in autumn. But George Cadbury entertained many large parties at Northfield; these two annual gatherings were only exceptional in that everyone of the thousand men who came were his old friends. It was significant of his attitude to the class that the only material form his gifts took was flowers. Each Sunday morning there came a

great box of blooms to the class, and every member took his own favourite. "Mr. Cadbury's flower" became a sort of emblem of hundreds of homes in Birmingham. The act, slight in itself, was fragrant with meaning to those who knew what delight he took in this little ritual of the flowers. It expressed his passion for nature, and his faith in the power of nature to touch the hearts of men. His most constant lament was that the life of the poor in the cities was divorced from this healing influence. It was the children who suffered most from the deprivation, and his flower was a little message to them much more than to their parents. "I like to see them running out to meet father to see what flower he has brought them to-day," he would say. "It ministers to the child's instinctive love of flowers, and the love of flowers leads to the love of all natural and wholesome things." He himself was hardly ever to be seen without a flower in his buttonhole.



In the course of the fifty years during which he carried on his class some 4,000 men passed through it, and with some of them he maintained an unbroken contact. Many of them went to other countries, and none of the contents of his enormous correspondence gave him more pleasure than the affectionate messages he received from old scholars in distant lands, recalling the debt they owed to their old teacher. In some cases men who had come to his class in poverty, due to drink and gambling, became prosperous employers of labour. In regard to all of them his mind was full of intimate details—how this man had never slept in a bed until he was twenty, and that one had been

saved by the influence of a good wife, and another had learned his letters in his class and was now an owner of property, and a fourth had signed the pledge, bought a pig and poultry, and fired all his neighbours with enthusiasm for pigs and poultry. Through his class he came to have a close intimacy with the life of the poor, and it would be true to say that his chief friendships were among the poor. Society in a restricted sense made no appeal to him and his friendships were never exclusive. His feeling was not so much one of particular affection as of general goodwill. He loved humanity in the bulk, and anyone was free of his friendship who had need of it.





CHAPTER V

POLITICS AND PUBLIC LIFE

Enters Birmingham Town Council—Second Marriage—Appeal to Him to Stand for Parliament—Relations with Labour — Friendship with Campbell-Bannerman — Declines Honours.

IT may be convenient at this point to refer briefly to that aspect of George Cadbury's career which, while relatively unimportant, cannot be entirely ignored. I refer to him in public and political activities. He was never in any sense a conspicuous figure in these respects. Neither his tastes nor his gifts fitted him for them. He was a pioneer who worked out his theories independently, and who, having no personal ambitions to serve, avoided the public stage and played little part in political affairs.

He had no taste for the cut-and-thrust of party politics, believed that his work lay in direct contact with the working classes on non-controversial lives, and only appeared in the political arena under a sense of compulsion. When Joseph Chamberlain began his municipal revival which made Birmingham in the 'seventies the standard bearer in the cause of enlightened local government, he gave him enthusiastic support, but it was not until July, 1878, that he was induced to enter the Council himself. Referring to his election, the *Birmingham Dart* said, "He was pushed and carried into the council, showing as much reluctance to enter the chamber as he might have been expected to have done had the ominous warning which Dante met with *ad infernos* been inscribed above our local portal." His connexion with the Town Council was brief. He was not at home in the atmosphere of public discussion and the removal later in the year of the business of Cadbury Brothers outside the then limited borough, and the subsequent establishment of his family at Woodbrooke, effectively severed his connexion with the municipal life of Birmingham. His social contacts with the city were not broken. Indeed they were strengthened after his second marriage in 1888, to Elizabeth Mary, the second daughter of John Taylor, of London. Through this union—from which six children, Laurence, Norman, Dorothea, Egbert, Mollie and Ursula were born—George Cadbury found not only a mother for his motherless



children, but a colleague who brought to his social activities the resources of a cultivated mind and kindred sympathies. With her advent, the activities of which Woodbrooke was the centre were largely extended, especially in the direction of the development of movements for the benefit of working girls and working women. The Union of Girls' Clubs in Birmingham, the National Union of Women Workers of which she became president, the Y.W.C.A., and other similar institutions owed much to the enthusiasm and capacity Mrs. Cadbury brought to their service, and her activity and the promotion of the political interests of women gave a new impulse to the Liberal movement in the neighbourhood. Of that movement, George Cadbury in spite of himself became the chief motive power. He was not a strong party man, disliked the personalities of controversy and was too much pre-occupied with causes to follow persons. But in spite of occasional aberrations he remained a member of the Liberal party all his life. He was in cordial agreement with the impulse to social reform which Chamberlain brought into the Liberal movement, but broke with him on the Home Rule issue, and was largely responsible for making North Worcestershire the solitary exception to the domination of Chamberlainism in the Birmingham area. Repeated efforts were made to induce him to enter Parliament himself. Gladstone appealed to him personally in a letter from St. Raphael in June, 1892, and Lord Rosebery renewed the request in July, 1895, but in both cases he declined on the ground that he believed that what he was doing was "of more lasting good than anything I could do by entering

Parliament." He contributed freely to the party funds, especially during the period when T. E. Ellis was Chief Whip, bore the cost of providing him with a chief permanent secretary in the person of the late Sir Jesse Herbert, of whose political ability he had formed a high opinion, and the magnitude of his services to the cause locally was publicly recognised in 1895 by the presentation to him by the Liberals of North Worcestershire of a testimonial and pictorial address.

With the rise of the political Labour Movement much of his sympathy went in that direction. He had always been a warm supporter of the trade unionist movement, and though the conditions at Bournville tended to weaken the sentiment of trade unionism, he had encouraged the cause there as a matter of principle and example. But trade unionism only offered palliatives. If the evil conditions under which a large proportion of the working classes lived were to be fundamentally changed it could only be through the action of Parliament. "We want a hundred working men in Parliament," he said. "Then the condition of the people will become a living issue." The election of John Burns for Battersea seemed to him to contain the germ of great things. In him Labour had discovered its voice, and he regarded him as the pioneer of the principle of the direct representation of the people. He had a warm affection for the ex-engineer, and not only gave him much practical support, but relied largely upon his judgment in his own handling of public affairs. It was to him that he wrote during the great engineering dispute in 1897, offering to con-

tribute £50 a week to the men's funds so long as the strike continued, an action which was subsequently recognized by the engineers of Birmingham, who presented him with an address of thanks for his practical sympathy. He took the view that the masters were in the wrong, and that the struggle was part of a deliberate policy of smashing the unions. That policy became very apparent later on, and was re-inforced by the decisions of the Courts which struck a deadly blow at the very existence of the trade unions. In meeting that attack, Labour always had the sympathy —not infrequently in terms of cash—of George Cadbury.

He entirely endorsed the political direction given to the Labour movement by the formation of the Independent Labour Party. With the theoretical Socialism of the party he was little concerned. He was never a theorist or a doctrinaire. He believed in liberty, and he believed in justice, and for the rest he relied upon the teaching of experience and inner inspiration for the true application of those beliefs to practical affairs. But he saw in the new movement which developed into the Labour Representation Committee a real instrument for permeating Parliament with the thought and influence of Labour, and convinced of its utility, he gave it all the support in his power. Its practical aims coincided with his own views, and he found in it, for the first time, an organized body of opinion in favour of peace and disarmament, the taxation of land values, housing reform, feeding of hungry children, the provision of old age pensions, insurance against invalidity and unemployment, and the municipalizing of the

liquor traffic. These and similar questions appealed to him as the neglected realities of politics, and it was in the forcing of these questions to the front that he hoped much from the advent of Labour in the political field. With the leaders of the movement, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. Keir Hardie, and others, he was on terms of intimacy, and he was never appealed to in emergencies in vain.

During the Boer War, his attraction to the Labour Party was increased by the unfortunate fissure in Liberalism. He was profoundly convinced of the iniquity of the war, and he saw in the formation and aims of the Liberal League a repudiation of the tradition and spirit of Liberalism. He acquired at this time that trust in, and affection for, Campbell-Bannerman that continued to the end ; but in the Liberal Party he had lost confidence. Apart from the miners' members, Mr. John Burns and Mr. Keir Hardie were at this time the only representatives of Labour in the House of Commons. To the former on the outbreak of the war, George Cadbury wrote an urgent letter advising him and his fellow Labour members to take action to expose the financial interests behind the war, and pointing out that " already the speculators who were behind the Jameson Raid had made some millions out of the war by this rise in Chartered shares from $2\frac{1}{2}$ a week before the war, to $3\frac{11}{16}$ to-day." He suggested the lines of a manifesto, and offered to provide the money for its distribution, and he concluded : " This war seems the most diabolical that was ever waged. It is so evidently a speculators' war, and no one else can derive any benefit from it. Just

now it seems to me that speculators, trustmongers, and owners of enormous wealth are the great curse of the world, and the cause of most of its poverty."

This dissatisfaction with the Liberal Party at this time was intensified by the local situation. The representative of North Worcestershire, Mr. J. W. Wilson, who had succeeded Sir Benjamin Hingley in 1895, was a close personal friend of George Cadbury, and like him a Quaker. But he was a Liberal Unionist, and though he had shown a good deal of independence he had continued to support the government during the war. Between his regard for Mr. Wilson's character and his disapproval of his political attitude, George Cadbury long hesitated, but the introduction of the Education Bill in 1902 led him to take a definite step. At the meeting of the Women's Liberal Association for North Worcestershire he pointed out that Mr. Wilson, although a Liberal, except on one issue, was giving his support to a Government of men who, their lot having been cast in aristocratic circles, knew nothing of the condition of the people, failed to grasp the gravity of the physical deterioration which was going on, and taxed the bread and sugar of the poor, instead of the land values created by the community. "There are," he said, "three families drawing from land values in Birmingham alone, without contributing to local taxation, at least £150,000 a year, made by the industrial classes of the city." Justice would not be done, he went on, until Labour had 100 representatives in Parliament, and he concluded by saying that if Mr. Wilson became more definitely Tory or resigned, he would himself

finance the candidature of a Labour representative if the working men and women of the constituency would second his efforts by undertaking the necessary canvassing.

The rupture with Mr. Wilson, however, was happily avoided, for with the introduction of Tariff Reform, he definitely cut himself off from Chamberlainism. George Cadbury himself was, of course, strongly opposed to the new policy —how strongly may be gathered from a letter withdrawing his support from the *Clarion* van. "I am sorry," he wrote, "to find that the *Clarion* goes in for Protection. It appeals to us as to other large manufacturers in England, and would probably mean an increase in our profits of 25 per cent. to 50 per cent. Protection appeals to every selfish interest, especially among the wealthy manufacturers, but I am perfectly sure it would mean terrible suffering to the poor. I am very sorry, therefore, under these circumstances to withdraw my offer for the van ; no doubt there are plenty of wealthy landowners, liquor dealers and protectionist manufacturers who will take my place." The attitude of Mr. Wilson gave him intense satisfaction. It restored all his old enthusiasm for the cause of Liberalism in North Worcestershire, and it was largely owing to his activity and influence that when the election came in 1906 the constituency made a breach in the Chamberlain zone.

While he worked locally for the Liberal cause his chief energies in the larger field were directed more and more to securing a working arrangement between Liberalism and Labour. He was satisfied that social reform could not be effectively carried out without a powerful body of working class

opinion in Parliament, but, on the other hand, he believed that the Liberal Party was the only instrument through which legislation could be accomplished. To bring the two forces into co-operation became the main political interest of his life. He saw with keen satisfaction the formation of the Labour Representation Committee, and the promotion of Labour candidatures at the by-elections following the General Election of 1900. In several of these by-elections he took an effective part in the interests of the Labour candidate.

With the fall of the Balfour administration in 1896, and the premiership of Campbell-Bannerman, in whom he had complete confidence, George Cadbury's enthusiasm for the Liberal cause was restored. The party came into power committed to that new policy of social reform the accomplishment of which was his sole attachment to politics. "I have no interest in the Liberal Party," he wrote at this time, "except in so far as it promotes the welfare of the millions of my fellow countrymen who are on or below the poverty line." His own views as to how that welfare was to be promoted were quite clear. He had for years been at the back of the movement for old age pensions, and had lost no opportunity of advocating such causes as the feeding of hungry children, anti-sweating legislation, insurance against unemployment, and compulsory arbitration in trade disputes. On the last-named subject he had in 1898 initiated a great gathering at the Birmingham Town Hall, organized by the Labour leaders, at which he secured the presence of the Bishop of Hereford and the Hon. W. Pember Reeves, then High Commissioner for New Zealand. It was characteristic of him that on

this occasion, as always, his eagerness for the cause made him not only indifferent to party advantage, but anxious that the inspiration should appear to emanate from the other side. "I think it wise," he wrote to Mr. Reeves, "to keep entirely in the background, as the Lord Mayor, Mr. Chamberlain, and all our members are Unionists, and I am anxious for them to take part in the meeting."

But more than any subject in which he hoped for action from the new Government he was concerned for land reform. Long experience had convinced him that the anomalies of the land system lay at the root of the social evils. His gift of Bournville to the public, which is dealt with elsewhere, was motived by the desire to give the world an object lesson on the subject of land values, and the relation of land to housing and similar problems.

The prominence which Campbell-Bannerman gave to land reform in his policy added to the confidence which George Cadbury had in him. Sir Henry's death before he had carried his schemes into effect, was a source of sincere grief to him. The relations between the two men, so alike in the qualities of simplicity of thought and humane purpose, had become close and fraternal. Sir Henry, with his niece, had paid George Cadbury a visit at the Manor House, and, not long before his death, he visited him again at Wind's Point, Malvern. A glimpse of that visit was furnished later in the funeral sermon on Sir Henry, preached by the Rev. T. H. Miller, at Dunfermline, in which he said:

. . . I trust I am betraying no confidence when I recall a statement made by Sir Henry at a private gathering held

in Dunfermline in October of last year—a statement that deeply impressed that company of friends. He was down in the Midlands of England on a political mission, and happened to be the guest of a well-known gentleman in the neighbourhood, a Quaker, I think he said he was. On the following morning when Sir Henry was leaving, his host said to him in a simple, unaffected way, "I should like you to know, Sir Henry, that there isn't a day passes without our remembering you and your work in prayer." That single statement, the Prime Minister said, sent him back to his task with renewed zeal and strength of purpose. These were among the last words Sir Henry uttered in Dunfermline, and those who heard them will not forget the earnest tone, the note of reality in them, that opened for a brief moment the door into the inner sanctuary of the man's life.

In the fierce controversy that raged around the Budget of 1909, and the conflict with the House of Lords, it was one of the familiar pleasantries of the Opposition press to suggest that George Cadbury was expecting to be rewarded for his services through the *Daily News*, by being made one of what were termed the "puppet peers." It is quite conceivable that if he had felt it a public duty to do so he would have consented to support the Government policy by taking a life peerage in order to help to destroy the veto of the House of Lords. The consideration of such a point was fortunately unnecessary. The truth, of course, was that George Cadbury took as much pains to avoid having honours thrust upon him as some men take in order to obtain them. The tradition in which he had been brought up disinclined him to the acceptance of titles, social distinctions, or decorations of any sort, and the plain habit of his mind and the belief that the value of his work would be prejudiced by any appearance of reward

strengthened the feeling. If he had desired it, he could during the last twenty-five years of his life have had almost any distinction he desired. He refused a peerage more than once, and later declined what to him might have seemed the less objectionable distinction of a Privy Councillorship. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who knew that he would not accept a title, wrote to him on June 10th, 1907, as follows :

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN to GEORGE CADBURY

10, Downing Street, Whitehall, S.W.

DEAR MR. CADBURY,

I want to know whether it would be agreeable to you for me to submit your name to the King for an appointment to the Privy Council. If you consent it will be a real pleasure to me to be the channel of conveying this recognition of all you have done and are doing for the good of mankind.

Yours very truly,

H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

George Cadbury replied congratulating Sir Henry on his speech at Plymouth, and his social policy, but declined the proffered honour.

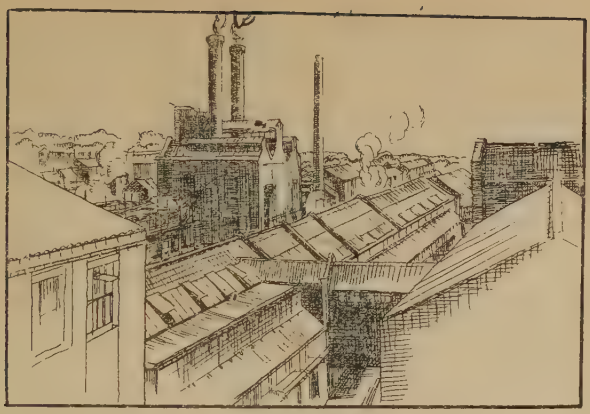
This self-denying ordinance came into operation on all occasions when he was approached with offers of dignities.

He had been one of the earliest and most generous supporters of the Birmingham University, and the Senate, through Sir Oliver Lodge, the Principal, invited him to accept, in connexion with the opening of the new buildings by the King, the honorary degree of LL.D. In declining, he said he thought "such honours should be reserved for those who have been distinguished

in science, literature or original research, or for special effort on behalf of the University."

To the end, therefore, he remained, in John Bright's phrase, " a plain and simple citizen." His instinct in this matter was entirely sound. Epaulets and orders, titles and decorations, would have sat strangely and falsely on one whose account was never with the world, who despised all ornaments, did not even understand the meaning of social ambition, and dwelt in the general heart of humanity.





CHAPTER VI

THE MAKING OF WEALTH

Death of Richard Cadbury—Ideals in Business—"How did you come by the Money?"—An Employer's Philosophy—Relations with Workpeople—The Bournville System.

THE long and happy association of Richard and George Cadbury was brought to a sudden end in March, 1899. Richard Cadbury had always cultivated the habit of travel, and in February, accompanied by Mrs. Cadbury and several members of his family, he set out once more for the Holy Land. He contracted "Nile throat" on the journey, and the complaint developed into diphtheria, from which he died three days after his arrival at Jerusalem.

To George Cadbury the loss of his brother was a heavy blow. Family affection was a tradition

of the Cadbury stock. It was not allowed to develop or wither as it chanced ; it was cultivated intensively, not merely as a joy but as a duty. The maxim "Live openly" was adopted very deliberately, and the family life was entirely free from those habits of secrecy or exclusiveness so common in the English family. This inherited trait of the brothers had been strengthened by forty years of the closest comradeship in business and in public work. Each was the complement of the other ; George intense, original and daring, Richard the steadying and balancing element. Together they formed a remarkable combination, and behind the external differences there was a permanent and fundamental unity of aim. Both regarded business as the instrument of disinterested ends. It is the fashion of the moment in some quarters to attack the philanthropist who seeks to raise others to a standard of his own conception, and to regard the doctrine of paternalism in industry as the worst enemy of freedom. This school thinks that better material conditions are a poor substitute for unrestraint, forgetting, however, that that freedom is only nominal, for the victim of the slum is under the very real tyranny of the sweater, the rackrenter, and the publican.

Whatever view we take of industrial relationship, it will be admitted that in working out their own ideals the brothers, Richard and George Cadbury, gave the world an object lesson of incalculable value, and it would be an entire misapprehension of their policy to assume that, paternal though their methods were, paternalism was the motive. It was not. Behind that exterior there was a much bigger idea—the idea of carry-

ing out on a large scale the theories of factory reform. They never regarded Bournville simply as a business. It was a social experiment also, and their underlying purpose was to show that business success was not only consistent with a high regard for the welfare of the workpeople, but the corollary of it.

The removal to Bournville had marked the opening of a new and remarkable chapter in the development of the concern. Its extension exceeded all expectation. In a few years the original premises were doubled, trebled, quadrupled, and "the factory in a garden," with the great social experiment of which it formed the nucleus, became known throughout the world. Where hundreds had been employed, thousands were now engaged. And with this extraordinary expansion there went on unceasing experiment not merely in business ideas, but in social ideas applied to factory conditions. The old intimate relations between the employers and their workpeople were continued. It was no longer possible to know everyone by his Christian name, but the brothers still moved among the ever-increasing army of workpeople with a genial comradeship that maintained the old atmosphere under new conditions. Richard and George were never mere abstractions. They were accessible to everyone, had a kindly word and a friendly smile for all and were full of little acts of courtesy, helpfulness, and gaiety which made the spirit of the place much more human and friendly than that of the ordinary factory.



In dealing with the large and complex system of experiments which was developed at Bournville, it must not be assumed that in all its details it was the work of George Cadbury and his brother. It was the product of much co-operation and collective thought. It did not spring into existence from any doctrinaire view; it grew slowly and surely out of the experience of years. In its later and larger development the brothers were assisted by their sons, who entered into the spirit of their policy with great enthusiasm, and with the advantage of large acquaintance with the new facts of modern social and economic science. At the time of Richard Cadbury's death, there were four members of the next generation in the firm. They were Barrow Cadbury and William Adlington Cadbury, sons of Richard, and Edward Cadbury and George Cadbury, sons of George. Each of these became responsible for some phase of the business, and together they, with the original partners, developed the scheme of industrial welfare which made Bournville famous. It is to Edward Cadbury's book, "Experiments in Industrial Organization," that I am largely indebted for the facts contained in this chapter.

But while many minds were engaged in the development of the Bournville scheme, which advanced from the paternal government to a singularly complete scheme of co-operative management, the seed of the ideas which lay behind it was in the mind of George Cadbury, and it is as a factory reformer as much as a social reformer that he will be remembered. It has been seen that from his first association with business in

Birmingham he had been disquieted by the degradation of human life which resulted from the pitiless conditions of modern competitive industry —the long hours, the low wages, the ruthless dismissals, the loss of health, of morals, of faith which he saw around him. It was this disquiet which had largely prompted the removal into the country, and the success that immediately followed upon that novel enterprise stimulated the resolution to solve the ethical problem of the modern factory by actual experiment. The paternal motive, as we have said, played its part in this resolution.

Richard and George Cadbury always cultivated a high standard of tolerance in regard to opinion ; but in matters of conduct they were rigorous, and, in spite of their gentleness of method, they were not seldom charged with being autocratic. They watched over the health of their workpeople with extraordinary solicitude, and moral health was certainly not less within the scope of their anxiety than physical health. But behind this motive was another, still more potent in George Cadbury's mind. His eye always scanned large horizons, and Bournville was to him an object lesson, a seed-plot of ideas, more than an isolated and self-sufficient experiment.

It followed that his methods must, to serve this larger purpose, be rooted in sound economics as distinct from sentiment and charity. They must be applicable to industry as a whole, and not a mere quixotic fad of a philanthropist. They must commend themselves to the plain business man to whom they were primarily addressed, and who would be left cold and scornful by an appeal to

sentiment. His own purpose was, of course, entirely humane and redemptive. He was a social reformer always in advance of the thought of his co-religionist John Bright, who remained constant to the strict individualism of the Manchester School, and carried his views as to the non-interference of the State in industry so far that he even opposed legislation directed to stopping adulteration. George Cadbury was free from these restraints of the doctrinaire. He was much more in sympathy with Lord Shaftesbury, who attacked the evils of industry from without at the time that George Cadbury was attacking them from within. The peculiar value of the Bournville enterprise is that the problems were handled by the employers themselves. They did not wait for Parliament. On the contrary, they gave Parliament inspiration, ideas and a body of experience on which to build.

The popular idea has been that the elder Cadbury Brothers were manufacturers who made immense sums of money by good business methods and afterwards gave it away instead of spending it on themselves. It is quite true that they spent largely on philanthropic works, but the root significance of their policy will be entirely missed if we assume that they held that the money could be made anyhow provided always that it was spent well.

The question for George Cadbury was not only that the money should be spent rightly, but that it should be made rightly. One of his favourite sayings was that no man who fulfils all his obligations will be rich, and he did not consider that a large cheque to a hospital or any

other act of laudable benevolence disposed of the fundamental question, "How did you come by the money?" Innumerable men of business have been generous with their profits when made. It was the conditions of the making of the profits that gave George Cadbury most concern. He began by seeking to remedy definite evils in the factory system. When he died, the factory had become a positive benefit, a centre of hygiene and intellectual activity, a school of conduct and habit, and in special cases a redemptive agency. The negative had been reversed to positive.



The achievement was the result of infinite labour and self-denial. It was open to the Cadburys as to other manufacturers to float their business, when established, as a limited liability company, with shares issued to the public and quoted on the Stock Exchange. In their case, as in other cases, the transference from private to a species of public ownership would have weakened obligation of the family to the firm and modified, perhaps fatally, the supreme discretion of the directors. But it would undoubtedly have eased their work. The business would have belonged to others as well as themselves. They would have been managers rather than proprietors. If welfare schemes were proposed the shareholders would have had to be convinced, and it is doubtful whether the enthusiasms of the social idealist would have survived the atmosphere of Cannon Street Hotel. It was this doubt that led the brothers to resist the temptation to float their

business. "If we sold any of the shares," George Cadbury used to say when questioned on the subject, "they would probably come into the hands of men whose ideals are not those of my brother and myself. We might realize our fortune, and relieve ourselves of responsibility, but our experiment would be imperilled." It was that experiment which was their chief secular interest. Money for itself made no appeal to them, and social ambitions were outside the scope of their thought. They had one task which could not be delegated. It was to make Bournville a contribution to the solution of social and industrial problems. That this policy of personal management was of advantage to Bournville as a business concern cannot be questioned. The very fact that the heads of the firm were directly interested in the details of welfare policy meant that a keener vigilance was exercised over commercial management. The vicarious conduct of industry through foremen, who are the only persons to know exactly what goes on in their departments, frequently produces not only grievances and even scandal but waste. George Cadbury and his colleagues were never satisfied with second-hand information. And their policy, motived by social considerations, reacted on the business efficiency of the enterprise.

Among other manufacturers there is no desire to belittle the welfare work at Bournville. But it is often alleged that results so excellent can only be achieved under abnormal conditions. "Give me a prosperous business in cocoa," so runs the usual comment, "and I could do the same." This suggestion raises large issues on which it is only possible to touch lightly. George Cadbury did

not deny that circumstances, or as he put it, God, opened for him a great opportunity, not granted to many men. On the other hand, he began in a very small way, and thus, humanly speaking, created his chance. He did not inherit a business previously well established. He created it, and it was his deliberate conviction that the welfare policy so far from hindering the development of the firm assisted it. He based this belief, not upon the inner light or the sanctions of religion, but upon plain reasoning from cause to effect. He may have been right ; he may have been wrong. But it is of the highest public importance that his theory of the matter should be clearly stated for the guidance of those who follow these problems.

The traditional view has been that labour, like other commodities, must be bought in the cheapest market. An improvement in conditions of labour or an increase in wages must be at the expense of the employer. Such expenditure must be resisted by the employer so far as public opinion, or his own conscience, permits. Hence the necessity for trade unions, for strikes, and for a vast mass of coercive legislation, all of which presumes the unwilling employer. If labour were actually a fixed commodity, to be weighed in the balance like tea at so much a pound, the prevalent theory would doubtless have survived challenge. But George Cadbury, starting from the conception of the sacredness of human life, was quickly captured by the profound conviction that the common view was wrong. It was, in his opinion, not only bad ethics but bad business to economize on labour. He held that it paid his firm and would pay all

firms to devote both attention and money to securing the safety, the health, and even the pleasures of the workers employed. These are objects which commerce has either ignored or treated as secondary and optional. To George Cadbury they were the essentials of efficient management. He set as much store by them as he did by getting orders. The success which attended his methods transformed the welfare thesis from faith to fact.

The central doctrine of Christianity, as George Cadbury understood it, is that men and women, rich or poor, are infinitely valuable, and that their lives should not be squandered. From this it followed that the work of men and women should be well paid, and that the work, so highly priced, should be directed to the best advantage. Let wages be handsome, but save labour wherever possible—these were the twin axioms. A necessary accompaniment of welfare methods was thus the prompt adoption of the latest machinery, and the strict elimination of waste. Low wages are often due to a mistaken attempt to set the human hand to compete against some new appliance. The contest cannot be sustained, and it is folly to enter upon it. No employer took greater pains than George Cadbury to avoid dismissals, but in the adoption of new processes he never flinched. Happily the business was always growing in volume, and workers displaced in one department could generally be absorbed elsewhere. From six hundred to seven hundred girls are taken into the works every year, while some hundreds—especially girls—go out owing to marriage and other causes.



So considerable an inflow and outflow of labour has assisted the task of adjusting departments, and to-day dismissals, save on grounds of misconduct, have been reduced to a negligible percentage.

This result is the more satisfactory because the trade concerned is seasonal. It is affected by weather and by festivities like Christmas. It was easy and would have been the usual plan to dismiss employees during the slack months, and reengage them when it was a case of overtime. But by a concerted effort of the directors, an effort which included the development of new markets, these fluctuations, so disastrous to moral, were gradually smoothed away. It meant much patient organization. It did not seem at first to be possible. But the result was an increased regularity of employment.

The advantage to the workers is obvious. Nothing is so perilous to character as an uncertain living. But the firm also has gained by the result. The trouble involved has brought its reward. A job at Bournville is worth getting and worth keeping. The works can pick the best from many applicants. It is possible to insist upon cleanliness, neatness of person, good manners, and education. And on this point it should be added that George Cadbury stoutly repudiated the idea of running the business as a charity. The object in selecting workers was not to administer out-relief. The test was capacity, not poverty or distress. Instead of patronising squalor a plan was adopted which encouraged parents to do their best for their children, and the prospect of employment at Bournville became a stimulus to that effort. Self-respect

is fostered and upheld, and the standard of conduct over a considerable district tends to be raised.

Save for a few cleaners who put in an hour or two a day, no married women are employed at the Bournville works. In particular cases, where the wife's wage would have eked out the poverty of the home, this may have been a hard rule to enforce, but George Cadbury based himself on the simple fact that the duty of a woman who marries is to her children, and that she cannot be in two places at once. Asked what a woman should do when her husband is ill or out of work, he would not deny the urgency or pathos of the question. But as a good Quaker he pondered long and deeply over what were the limitations of his own responsibilities. He knew that with the best will in the world he could not, as an individual, put an end to the social misery even in one area of Birmingham. His personal duty, as he conceived it, lay within his own vineyard. If others would only recognize the same principle there would be less unemployment, less sickness and fewer wives seeking to pick up a livelihood. And this very concentration on his own special obligation—this avoidance of claims which the firm could not wisely admit to be binding on it—made George Cadbury all the more zealous in his advocacy of social and municipal reform. He wanted trams. He wanted the feeding of hungry children in schools, old age pensions, national insurance, and all possible instruments for raising the general standards of life.

After his brother's death, as the younger members of the firm steadily increased their share of the responsibilities in the business, George Cad-

bury devoted more and more time to the public questions, housing, betterment, and Church matters. But in all the new schemes of welfare developed by the younger partners at Bournville he was ready to support them, and did support them on the Board. Some of the conclusions arrived at by experiment may be noted here. The firm early discovered that the most useful applicants were those who came direct from the discipline of school. By preferring these applicants to those who had, as it were, roughed it for some years in the industrial whirlpool, and by choosing those boys and girls who had reached the higher standards, it was possible for the Cadburys to exercise a definite upward influence upon the school age in the district. By refusing to employ married women, the directors were able to reduce the too early employment of children, and to diminish the danger of improvident marriages. Girls who entered the works, knowing that if and when they married they must leave, were ready to wait a few years before taking so serious a step. The dignity of marriage and its meaning were further emphasized by domestic education. A girl, so taught, realized her worth, and her future husband was prepared to wait for her. By such automatic influences the age of marriage, which as far as can be ascertained is about two years older than the average of girls employed in factories in Birmingham, has righted itself, and in the homes, when established, a new standard of parental foresight has been set up.

If the selection of the employees is kept strictly in the directors' hands, so also is dismissal. In 1896 the Truck Act was amended, and there was

a controversy in Parliament over the system of using fines and deductions as means of discipline. At this date the system was in force at Bournville, but in 1898 is was abolished—this in advance of legislation. Record books and cards were substituted, and the important rule was established that while a foreman or forewoman might report delinquencies, it was for the directors alone to determine the penalty. This safeguard against petty tyranny and worse is fundamental to industrial rights at Bournville. Cases are dealt with not hastily but once a month, and frequently it is found that the impudence or other matter of complaint is due to ill-health rather than a defect of character. Since the war the scheme of dealing with offenders has been further developed, and there are in operation Discipline Tribunals, on which the workers and the management are both represented, and all serious cases are brought before these tribunals.

The entire policy depends upon the supreme economic value of quick, clean work. Behind all the athletics, the dentistry, the swimming baths, the doctoring, and the arrangements for meals, lies a supreme commercial objective—speed of hand coupled with accuracy of eye. These are the qualities which in the workers make the business pay. The wages may be high, the various benefits may be costly, the hours may be short, but the labour is concentrated, eager, effective. It does not last long, but it accomplishes much while it does last. The management had no illusions as to the monotony of modern manufacturing processes. Something might, perhaps, be done to vary the monotony by changing the

workers from one process to another. But the only real solution was to shorten the hours of labour and develop social and intellectual interests outside the factory. But the short day could never be maintained without incessant organization and a perfect alliance of loyalty in the wage-earner with health and skill.

Yet the selection of the most efficient girls and boys for the factory did not of itself solve the difficult problem of the slow worker. At Bournville, as elsewhere, the devil was always seeking the hindmost. The usual plan is to dismiss a worker who fails to justify employment, and dismissal was never ruled out as a permissible last resort. But it was a confession of failure on the part of the management, to be avoided wherever possible, and in recent years especially a great attempt has been made to find remedies for those cases where a worker did not, as the Americans say, "make good." As illustrating the close and individual attention paid to these slow workers, Edward Cadbury, in his "Experiments in Industrial Organization," shows how seventy-eight of them, all girls, who were reported in 1906, were dealt with, and the result. By the year 1910, the record of the seventy-eight girls was as follows:

4	discharged.
23	left; more than half on account of marriage.
2	died.
4	were made time workers.
37	had reached or exceeded the standard; and
8	were still below it.
78	

In some cases it was found that the girl went to bed habitually at too late an hour, so losing sleep. In other cases she rose too late in the morning, so missing breakfast. Health was found to be an important factor, and the reason for inefficiency was often the burden on the girl of maintaining an aged or invalid relation. Other causes might be mentioned, but the point, as it affects an estimate of George Cadbury, is that neither he nor his family confined their benevolence to spectacular boons like cricket and football fields and concerts. These aids to happiness would have been almost valueless if they had not been backed by assiduous reform of hours and wages and of other conditions behind the scenes. To embroider the industrial problem would not have been to solve it. And while many of the improvements have lent themselves to advertisement, it was not possible for the workers to say that the advertisement was the sole or even the main consideration that dictated the welfare policy. It contained much that could not be advertised, of which this typical treatment of seventy-eight slow workers is an example. Nothing could have been easier than to get rid of such girls regardless of the consequences, and afterwards to fill their places. Few would have noticed such a detail of management, and none would have criticized.

In discussing his business, George Cadbury would often remark that it was " the stupid people who alone make money." He would accompany the saying with a shrewd and critical smile that belied its truth. But what he meant was that people cannot hope to succeed in commerce if they have a mind that despises detail. All his

dreams and theories would have collapsed if he had not developed an astonishing devotion to little matters which are habitually overlooked. He was prepared to support the various experiments suggested by his partners. Prizes were offered for suggestions. So far from evading Government inspection, he and his colleagues came to regard it as a kind of red-letter day when perhaps they might glean a new idea. A special engineer was appointed, whose sole duty it was to devise additional shields for the machinery, and in his first twelve months his proposals numbered 564. This expert was provided with blue-books and scientific literature, and he was expected to ransack the industrial world for inventions that might save life or limb. The Home Office requires that a register of accidents shall be kept by a firm, so arranged as to show at a glance the record of each machine. Furnishing guards for wheels and connecting rods is only of value if the worker at the machine retains the guards in their places, and in some instances a device rather like a block signal on a railway was added, whereby the machine cannot be started until the guards are properly adjusted. These precautions are not superfluous. Piecework is often twice as rapid as timework, and the theory of short hours, with great speed of output concentrated therein, clearly requires an unremitting vigilance against casualties. To what a point of thoroughness this scrutiny has been carried may be illustrated by one example. It was found that certain male workers who had to lift weights became liable to hernia. The men are now carefully selected and trained in the gymnasium with a view to weight-lifting

by proper methods. There is a gain in rapidity and a prevention of ill results for the physique. This continual sense that in a factory the material detail dominates the physical and moral personality of the worker reminds one of Thring's policy at Uppingham. That great headmaster held that bricks and mortar were the mould of character, and instinctively George Cadbury yielded to the same conviction. He could not turn the factory into a cathedral, but he did at least endeavour to prevent it degenerating into a place of temptation. The corridors are so arranged that girls and boys do not meet on their way to and from the workrooms. Each employee must remain strictly in his or her own department, and persons who have the right of passage from one room to another are distinguished by a badge. The construction of the buildings allows everywhere the maximum daylight. Girls were placed under forewomen, the principle being that the men's departments should be governed by men, and women's departments by women; the aim is to prevent abuses, not to deplore them, and a great measure of success has been achieved. Perhaps the greatest safeguard of all is the precision with which every moment of the time spent in the factory is fully occupied.

There was nothing that pleased and amused George Cadbury more than a scheme, however simple, which, as the proverb says, killed two birds with one stone. The Bournville system was rich in such ingenuities. Girls would be provided with caps on the plea that they would keep the chocolate dust out of their hair. But in special cases the caps might serve another and reciprocal

purpose. Clearly it was to the interest of the workers that they should wear a special uniform when on duty, so as to save their clothes. But it was also to the advantage of the firm that clothes, worn in a variety of homes, should remain outside the sphere of manufacture. Again, an excellent thing for young people to learn to swim! How healthy! How refreshing! But equally excellent was it for the firm to be assured that employees who may be in contact with delicate foodstuffs are cleanly in habits and person. Even the gift of Bournville Village—an independent act on the part of George Cadbury, and designed for public purposes—was not without a collateral influence on the business: the jerry-builder was kept at a distance; the home conditions of the workers were maintained at the highest possible level; and the firm could claim that it owned a "factory in a garden."



It is needless here to describe in detail the vast network of clubs and societies, funds and classes, which have grown up around the Bournville Works. George Cadbury was fully alive to the temptations which afflict a mixed community, but he believed in expelling evil with good. He was a Puritan, but his Puritanism was not repellent or negative. It was the Puritanism of the Milton of "Comus." He enjoyed music and games and athletics and pageants and the dance, indeed all wholesome pleasures, especially those which took men into the open air. His attitude towards these recreations was in sharp contrast with the stricter traditions of his co-religionists, but it

humanized what may be called his industrial methodism. It was not enough to provide the best conditions of labour within the works; it was equally important to have abundant incentives to healthy living outside the works. Facilities for cricket, a game for which George Cadbury had particular affection, were provided on a very extended scale. One ground, ten acres in extent, provided the best cricket pitch in Worcestershire, and on it the firm have built, at a cost of £4,000, a very spacious and handsome pavilion for the use of the players.



The pavilion was erected as a memorial to the Coronation of King Edward VII. It contains an elaborately equipped gymnasium, baths, luncheon rooms, etc. Many well-known cricketers, among them A. A. Lilley, the famous batsman and wicket-keeper, "found themselves" on the Bournville ground. Another large playground of 80 acres is devoted to football, a fishing pool, bowling greens, swimming bath, tennis courts, and a gymnasium, at which attendance in the firm's time of all boys under sixteen for two half-hours a week is made compulsory. For the women workers recreation grounds of about fourteen acres are provided. Here are a well-timbered garden, a field for cricket and netball, another for hockey, tennis courts, etc. There is also one of the best-equipped covered swimming baths for women in England, together with twenty-four needle baths and slipper baths, and every girl is allowed to bathe weekly in the firm's time. Four ladies are employed to teach swimming, games and drill, and the athletic standards of Bournville

are probably unequalled in any other industrial community.

Two illustrations may be given not only of the care of the firm for their workpeople, but of that attention to detail which was so characteristic of them, and which amused those who did not see the truth of their philosophy of the importance of little things. They were impressed by the amount of misery, ill-health and inefficiency which were the result of bad teeth. The evil, as evidenced in Birmingham, where, of 2,000 children examined, all about twelve years of age, only 4 per cent. were found to have sound teeth, was due to bad housing, insanitary conditions, and careless feeding. Through these wrongs the children were made to suffer for the rest of their lives.

While in other directions they were working to prevent the evil by destroying the causes, they did not forget curative methods as well. Though the health conditions, and consequently the condition of the children's teeth, were better at Bournville than elsewhere, the firm engaged two dentists to attend to their workpeople, and no boy or girl was taken into employment without the written consent of the parents that the child's teeth should be properly attended to. And, to encourage regard for the teeth outside, tooth-brushes, tooth-powder, etc., were offered for every child in the board schools of the villages in the neighbourhood. The scornful smiled at the Cadburys and their tooth-brushes, but the extraordinary health conditions of Bournville were a sufficient answer.

In the same practical way George Cadbury dealt

with the peril of wet feet. Early in the career of the business he had been distressed by seeing the young and even older workers coming to the factory on snowy mornings ill-shod. Cautions as to the dangers of standing in wet boots all day were not sufficient. It was necessary to create a preventive habit, and so, at the beginning of the winter, he gave each of the younger girls who had been taken into employment during the year a pair of snow-shoes. Thus a habit was created which became general in the works, where also conveniences were provided for drying the shoes in the work hours so that when the employees left in the evening they left dry-shod.



For the medical treatment of the workpeople a skilful surgeon and a lady doctor were employed at an early stage in the development of the welfare work. They were engaged at the works during the morning, and devoted the afternoon to visiting special cases among the employees. In addition, four trained nurses were employed, and every department was supplied with first-aid appliances in charge of some thoroughly competent person. As a result of these precautions the deaths among the workers are exceptionally few; the average for several years being twelve, or less than two per 1,000 employed.

There is one phase of the welfare work at Bournville which calls for more detailed attention here not only because it had George Cadbury's especial approval, but also because it was linked up with his work outside and was largely the seed of a great national scheme. The pension fund

for men was opened with a gift from the firm of £60,000, which was sufficient to furnish benefits for those members who, at the outset of the scheme, had of necessity to enter at an advanced age. The contributions of the men vary from 2½ per cent. to 5½ per cent. of wages, and the firm annually contributes an equal sum, which now amounts to about £9,000 per annum. The pensionable age is 60, and the amount of pension is 1 per cent. of the average wages of the subscriber multiplied by the number of years for which he has contributed. For instance, if the average wage was £100, and the period of contribution was thirty years, the pension at sixty would be £30. In the event of a member dying while in the service of the firm, his widow or representatives receive back his contributions with compound interest at 2½ per cent., and if he leaves the firm, he himself receives this sum—often a most useful assistance for emigration or the starting of a new business. The actuarial basis of the fund is conservative, with the result that the last valuation showed a prospective surplus of £282,458. This is being applied in increasing pensions, the rate having been increased from 1 per cent. to 1¾ per cent. The pension of £30 above mentioned has therefore now become £52 10s. The firm's capital gifts to the fund (not including payments towards a proposed Widows' Fund) amount to over £170,000.

Owing to the fact that the great majority of women employees leave to get married long before pension age, the Women's Pension Fund, which was started in 1911, is a combination of a Savings Fund and a Pension Fund. A girl who leaves gets

back her own contributions with 5 per cent. compound interest. The firm makes up the rate of interest earned to 5 per cent., and also pays annual contributions equal to 50 per cent. of the members' normal contributions. Members' normal contributions average about 5 per cent. of their wages. Those who reach pension age (55) get a very substantial pension. The firm's back service and other gifts to the Women's Fund total at over £80,000.

Among the criticisms which have been made upon the Bournville Works is this, that the firm has, in common phrase, taken too much upon itself. George Cadbury replied that his business, so far from seeking fresh obligations, was like the British Empire, which has had obligations thrust upon it. The pension fund for men was elaborated years before old age pensions were granted by Parliament, but a clause was inserted to provide for that contingency, and the benefits are adaptable to the new position. This remark applies to the women's fund also, but it must be admitted that the National Insurance Act put the Cadburys to a somewhat severer test. In the Bournville Works there were already sickness schemes of an elaborate character, and financed on a non-contributory basis. The health of the workers was exceptionally good, and it will scarcely be contested that their position was more favourable under the old conditions than it was likely to be under the National Act. The question whether a special Approved Society could be started for Bournville alone was anxiously discussed and determined in the negative. It was decided that the workers must throw in their lot

with other societies—a somewhat hard decree, though inevitable ; and the best consolation was that after all it was the example of Bournville which helped to inspire the statesmen who carried out the national policy.

The influence of the firm over its workers is doubtless very great. But they applied all their ingenuity to the task of devising safeguards against misuse of this power. The very decision not to proceed with the separate sickness fund was submitted to mass meetings of the men and women concerned. The contributors are represented fully on the management of the two pension funds. The various clubs are voluntary, and are conducted by the members themselves. The pension funds are invested in trustee securities, quite independent of the business, and the Thrift Club annually transfers to the Post Office and the Municipal Bank the considerable sums which have accumulated during the year, the view being that no firm should be capitalized upon the savings of those whom it employs. It is true that the meals provided at so low a cost have become customary for a large body of workers, but there is here no infringement of the Truck Acts. The use of the facilities is voluntary. The workers can, if they like, bring their own food and have it warmed free of charge. Alternatively, they must buy tickets before taking a meal, and there is thus no deduction from wages nor suspicion of "living in." On the contrary, workers residing in the neighbourhood are encouraged to take their midday meal at home, both on account of the walk and on account of the home surroundings. But some thousands dine at the works daily, the meals being supplied

at the bare cost of materials without including labour.

Where compulsion enters, it is usually in the case of the young and immature. Yet no rule is imposed on the boys and girls at Bournville which, *mutatis mutandis*, would not be regarded as suitable for boys and girls of a similar age whose parents have been able to send them to a secondary school or to a university instead of to a factory. If these young folks are asked to attend a continuation class, it must be remembered that they only work a forty-four-hour week, and that the pressure put upon them is in strict line with proposed legislation whereby all employers will be made responsible for insisting that young persons shall continue their schooling. Nor has it been the desire of the firm to keep these classes in its own hands. Wherever possible the pupils are transferred to the local authority. This record indicates that, while George Cadbury and his partners have undoubtedly exercised great power over their workpeople, they have honestly endeavoured to avoid that thirst for power which is among the most subtle temptations of the pioneer reformer, and have insisted on real autonomy in their various welfare schemes.

It is suggested that the workers should have been encouraged to spend their leisure under auspices quite distinct from Bournville as a place of business. Bournville, so it is claimed, has drained the outlying population of the social forces which would have made for a more general betterment. The Camera Club at Bournville, for example, is so flourishing that no other such society can obtain a foothold. Again, the con-

ditions at Bournville are so excellent that trade unionism languishes. If you are within the charmed circle, all is well with you, but beyond the pale is conflict and disorder. The complaint is like that which assails the Central Mission—so often accused of impoverishing the smaller churches in its neighbourhood. The answer is that the relations between Bournville and other districts are transitional. At first there had to be a somewhat sharp demarcation. Cardinal Newman defended an infallible Church as the only practical bulwark against the unutterable wickedness of mankind. The system might be harsh and exclusive, but it was at least a breakwater. What confronted George Cadbury was a degradation of young life, deeper and more pathetic than any of which Newman had personal experience. He could not change the face of society. He could not make the whole desert blossom as a rose ; but he could redeem from that desert an oasis, partial it may be and laboriously defended from encroachments, but still an oasis—a rock of comparative safety in a land of weariness. Yet he was never tired of saying that the object of Bournville was to promote discontent. One brother or sister would be employed at the works ; another would find occupation elsewhere. Comparisons were thus inevitable and fruitful. So far from discouraging trade unionism, the firm continually impressed upon the workers the duty of forming branches and otherwise helping the movement, in order that others might win their way to the rights already recognized by the Bournville firm. Towards the end there were signs that this somewhat unusual appeal was bearing fruit. The workers

have displayed a zeal for combination, which arises out of genuine esprit de corps rather than mere self-interest. The girls especially have shown hospitality to other girls from Birmingham who lack their industrial advantages. The Social Service League, which came to an end at the beginning of the war, was a transitional body. It had 550 members, and it helped the girl workers of the city to support a paid organizer ; it was really a missionary enterprise.

The history of the experiments divides itself roughly into two phases. For the earlier of these George Cadbury and his brother were wholly responsible. It was a phase which was governed by the condition of a smaller enterprise, and of a time when the awakening to the evils of the industrial system was only beginning. It was a highly personal and in some ways a paternal effort to humanize the conditions of labour, and this aspect was accentuated by the fact that the older workers had grown up with the business and had absorbed its traditions, and that the relation between them and the firm was founded on mutual knowledge and friendship. The second phase, which was unfortunately more complicated, developed with the great expansion of the business, and the emergence of the new ideas in the industrial movement. It may be said to have begun with the death of Richard Cadbury in 1899, the conversion of the business into a private limited company, and the appointment of a Board of Directors, of which the two sons of George Cadbury and the two sons of Richard Cadbury were members. It was under this new government, later enlarged by the admission of other members of the family, that the

larger organized schemes of insurance, education, and so on, were developed. But while George Cadbury did not initiate all of these schemes, he was in entire sympathy with them, and showed none of the conservatism common in such circumstances.

The casual student is apt to think that George Cadbury said the last word on what is possible under the factory system. This was not his own view. He remained to the end a visionary—one who believed always in better things and still better things to come—and he claimed for Bournville no more than that it was an experiment. I have mentioned the fact that the business was not sold to the public on the Stock Exchange.[1] Nor has it been transferred, co-operatively, to the workpeople. It is, at the present stage, frankly and without compromise, a private venture, though under the system now established, of a Works Council, the employees of the firm have a real share in the management of the works in so far as working conditions are concerned. If nothing is said here of this scheme, the working of which has been of great interest to students of industrial organization, it is because it is the work of the younger minds who inherited the great tradition of progress from Richard and George Cadbury. Socialists themselves will probably admit that there are stages in industrial evolution when more is to be gained by the personal initiative of one or two far-sighted capitalists than would be gained by a policy which must be submitted at every step to popular approval.

[1] The Preference Shares of the firm have since been put on the market.

At the same time the exclusion of the workers from ownership of the business and from the elective control of business as apart from works management, which follows from ownership, suggests that the present regime is educative rather than final. Certain problems have been solved, others are in process of being solved, and still others will arise. And the doctrine of continuous inspiration, which is among the basic elements of Quakerism, must be regarded as applicable to the great traditions already established at this great factory. George Cadbury would not have denied that his policy had a monetary value as an advertisement. Customers like to be assured that the food has been cleanly handled. But what he accomplished was more than an advertisement. He was a woodman cutting his way through the rank undergrowth of the industrial system. It must be remembered that he began his work in an England where child labour and sweated labour were still accepted as a necessary part of the price of her industrial greatness. And when his end came, there had opened a vista, narrow it may be, but unimpeded, through which the eye could discern a worthier England.





CHAPTER VII

THE SPENDING OF WEALTH

View of the Function of Wealth—Practical Philanthropy—Sweated Industries and Old Age Pensions—Parties of Children at Northfield—Open Spaces for Birmingham—The Beeches — Home for Cripples at Woodlands — Birmingham Y.M.C.A.—Sunday Schools and Missions—A Multifarious Giver.

WITH the expansion of his business George Cadbury's benefactions widened. Throughout life he sought wealth only as a means of usefulness, and as wealth came to him he spent it in the promotion of causes that he believed to be for the public good. For riches in themselves he had no desire, and for the accumulation of riches a deep-rooted distaste. "Both in England

and America," he said, "too much is made of men who are successful in business. Success in business is not a test of fine character. It is often the reverse. Men of refined mind are not often those who make great fortunes. It is not even a test of a man's diligence. Some men without any extraordinary diligence have the knack of making money, while many men of refined mind, though equally diligent, fail to succeed."

He regarded his own success as a trust reposed in him, and the careful distribution of his riches as his chief task. In a widely different sense from that of Lamb's spendthrift he held that money ought to be spent "while it was fresh." The heaping up of great fortunes was a social wrong and an evil. Both by training and conviction he was opposed to the cultivation of extravagant tastes. His food, his dress, and his pleasures were only a means to an end. He loved games for themselves, but he loved them still more as a physical training necessary to keep one fit for the real business of life. His clothes gave him no concern. He almost followed the practice of Carlyle, who, when he needed a new suit of clothes used to send instructions to his old tailor in the Scottish village to forward him a suit as before. George Cadbury always seemed to wear the same suit of grey tweed with cut-away coat and old-fashioned side pockets. On special ceremonial occasions he would wear a silk hat, but it was generally out of the fashion—a fact of which he was wholly unconscious. Dress, in fact, was in his view intended not as a decoration, but as a protection against the elements. The result was that while none was more indifferent to finery, no one

was more particular about comfort, more urgent about keeping your feet dry, avoiding bad air, and so on. There were goloshes for his work-people, and fatherly advice to anybody to whom he happened to be writing and who, he believed, was careless in matters of health. Nor had he any disposition to spend money on æsthetic pleasure, for he had none. Art in any of its forms made little appeal to him. "My pictures are not remarkable," he said to me on one occasion. "If I had spent a fortune in pictures I should not have had it to spend in other ways which seem to me more important. Why should I hang fortunes on my walls while there is so much misery in the world?" A home was for comfort, not display.

Nor was he disposed to heap up riches for his children. At the time he made his gift to the Bournville Trust he said, "I am not rich as an American millionaire would count riches. My gift is the bulk of my property outside my business. I have seriously considered how far a man is justified in giving away the heritage of his children, and have come to the conclusion that my children will be all the better for being deprived of this money. Great wealth is not to be desired, and in my experience of life it is more a curse than a blessing to the families of those who possess it. I have ten children. Six of them are of an age to understand how my actions affect them, and they all entirely approve." Apart, therefore, from the provision by insurance of a modest competence for each of his children, George Cadbury deliberately followed the practice of spending his income as he went along. He

rarely discussed money and never money-making ; but in 1906 he was induced by Dr. Gore, the then Bishop of Birmingham, for whom he entertained a high regard, to give a formal statement of his views on the responsibilities of wealth. A committee of the Canterbury Convocation and House of Laymen was commissioned to obtain information and prepare a report upon "How best to bring the moral principles of Christianity to bear upon certain social problems, and, amongst others, upon the problem of the accumulation and distribution of wealth." Dr. Gore wrote inviting George Cadbury's co-operation. "We want you to tell us," he said, "what you consider to be the function of morality in present-day economics, or, in other words, what is the contribution which you consider moral and religious teachers can make towards the solution of economic and social problems. We would invite you to let us have a written statement by the end of November (not for publication, but only for our information), and we would also ask you whether you would be willing to attend and let our Committee ask you questions upon your written statement, on March 4th or 5th, 1907."

In reply to this request George Cadbury sent to Dr. Gore the following letter :

GEORGE CADBURY *to* DR. GORE

November 10*th*, 1906.

DEAR LORD BISHOP,

Those things which divide Christian men into various denominations appear infinitely small when we face problems such as the existence side by side of great wealth and extreme poverty, and why one portion of the community should have a superabundance of wealth which provides

them with every comfort and luxury, while large numbers in so-called Christian lands should lack those things which are essential to health and morality. Problems like these are overwhelming, and one feels almost inclined to give them up in despair as "infants crying for the light, and with no language but a cry."

I have for many years given practically the whole of my income for charitable purposes, except what is spent upon my family, but this is not a satisfactory solution of the question. As a politician I have strongly urged doubling the Death Duties, so that a portion of that wealth which men would not give during their lifetime shall be used at their death for the benefit of the nation to which they belong, and a graduated income-tax. Nearly all my money is invested in businesses in which I believe I can truly say the first thought is the welfare of the workpeople employed. Should Christian men sell all that they have, such businesses would probably come in the hands of unscrupulous men whose aim is to make dividends as large as possible, regardless of their workpeople. "Give me neither riches nor poverty"—either extreme does not conduce to happiness. "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God! . . . It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God." The camel had to stoop to go through the Needle's Eye Gate into Jerusalem—the rich man can enter in if he will humble himself before God.

I have never written such a letter before, and this must not be published, but I am delighted that godly men are facing problems such as these, and Christians might have a greater influence over the vast masses of our population who are living without God, if they faced these problems. Too often professing Christians like the priest and the Levite in the parable "pass by on the other side," and do not know the wretched condition of millions in our cities and towns which make it practically impossible for them to live clean, moral and healthy lives. . . .

Yours truly,

GEORGE CADBURY.

George Cadbury's subsequent replies to the interrogatories of the Committee of the Upper

House of Convocation, presided over by Bishop Gore, may be given as embodying the view which he held in regard to wealth, and which governed his own philanthropies:—

1. What do you consider the responsibilities of wealth?

Answer: So far as I remember, my answer was that "every man must give an account of himself to God," and it was not for me to say what might be the responsibilities of other men.

2. What do you consider the advantages of wealth, in the light of stewardship?

Answer: It is very doubtful whether great wealth is an advantage to any family. I have seen many families ruined by it, spiritually and morally, and I believe its acquisition brings blessing to a very small number. Experience proves the prayer in the Book of Proverbs to have been that of a man who knew much of the world, "Give me neither poverty nor riches."

3. What is your theory of giving, as to form, manner, etc.?

Answer: Begin at home with your workpeople, see to their comfort, health, and so far as you can their general prosperity. See that your workshops are light and well-ventilated. As far as you have the means, give your people the advantage of living where there is plenty of space. This was our main object in removing from Birmingham into the country. It was morally right and proved financially to be a success, because the business had room to expand.

4. Have you any rule with regard to giving?

Answer: I have long felt that I should not be making the best use of money by giving to individual churches, but as far as possible I give to organizations that help them all. As a Free Churchman I have taken special interest in the National Free Church Council, because I believe that if unbelief and sin are to be fairly grappled with by the churches, it will only be by united action. I long to see all churches, Anglican and Free, present a united front. I think if the latter can show that they can unite in aggressive Christian work without holding precisely the same creed, in time the Anglican Church also will fall in line.

Christ tells us distinctly, "By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one to another," and the test of that real Christlike love is, while differing in non-essentials, yet being united in essentials. I strongly object to subscribing towards building expensive churches. Though the House be plain, if the spirit of the Lord is there the people will come and receive a blessing.

5. Do you believe in methodical giving?

Answer: You cannot adhere to the old Jewish law of the one-tenth. For example, a poor man who gives threepence out of his wages of £1 a week is giving far more relatively than a rich man who gives £15,000 out of an income of £20,000. In the first case it means self-denial, in the latter practically none. The mere giving of money is, I believe, of small value in the sight of God without personal self-denying service as well. The words of Christ are clear: "Whosoever doth not bear his cross, and come after Me, cannot be My disciple." Even the Christian world is so corrupt to-day that really following Christ generally brings persecution from those who bear His name.

6. What kind of giving do you find secures the highest results?

Answer: I do not believe that all men are called into the same line of service. Largely through my experience among the back streets of Birmingham I have been brought to the conclusion that it is impossible to raise a nation, morally, physically and spiritually in such surroundings, and that the only effective way is to bring men out of the cities into the country and to give to every man his garden where he can come into touch with nature and thus know more of nature's God. I believe the time will come when the race will be so enlightened as to make it illegal to build any more cities where the houses are closely packed together, and that by law no house will be allowed to cover more than one-fourth of the land belonging to it. In nearly every case where factories have been moved into the country the removal has answered commercially. Land has been cheap, the workpeople have been healthier and better able to do a good day's work.

7. What has Christianity to say about the enormous accumulation of wealth into a few hands?

Answer: In answer to a previous question, I told you my belief that enormous wealth in itself brought no real

happiness to those who possessed it, and it certainly brought a vast amount of misery upon those who had not their share. Christ's teaching is clear as to the remedy, that he that hath two coats is to give to him that hath none, but there is no warrant in His teaching that violence should be used, and that he who has no coat should take by force one of the coats of him that has two, so that the remedy must be found in the passing of just laws, the most effective of which would be a tax on land values, so that most of the taxation of the country would come from the land, which is almost as needful for life and health as light and air. I would also very largely increase the amount of duty payable on the death of the wealthy, whether they left land or other property; the result of this in the case of land would be that its accumulation into a few hands would be made almost impossible and it would again come into the hands of the people themselves and be much better cultivated. So far as we have been able to ascertain by practical proof, one acre of garden land will produce as much food as thirteen acres of pasture land.

8. What is the supreme joy you get out of life?

Answer: God placed man in families and man's truest joy ought to be in his own home, though I believe if his joy is selfish, and it may be when all his attention is given to his own home, he will have nothing like the same amount of joy as if he gave up some time and labour for the good of others.

9. How should people impress the obligation of giving upon other people?

Answer: "Example is better than precept." Everyone wishes to be happy, and I think if you can show that your life is a happier one by giving than the lives of men who hoard you will do more good than by preaching about it.

10. How do you account for the spiritual dearth of the churches?

Answer: I believe that one cause of this is priestcraft. It is so much easier to place responsibility upon the priest, clergyman, or minister rather than take a share of the work ourselves. The mere attendance at a place of worship does not constitute a Christian. "Not every one that saith unto Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven: but he that doeth the will of My Father which is in heaven."

The range of George Cadbury's benevolences was extraordinarily wide. It extended from large gifts like that of the Bournville Trust to the maintenance of homes for tired workers and the contribution of the whole or part of the salary of men whom he desired to see in certain positions of usefulness, either in the world of politics or of social experiment. In the period before the payment of members more than one member of Parliament owed the possibility of giving up his life to politics to the fact that George Cadbury believed in his capacity to serve the public usefully, and was ready to back his faith with his money. It was difficult to trace all the channels of his generosity, because he observed, wherever possible, the utmost secrecy in giving. It was only accidentally that one discovered that here and there a secretary was being paid, or a society financed, or a movement being kept alive through his very practical sympathy.

Though his philanthropies were so widespread, one principle governed all of them. They were invariably directed to constructive ends. Mere palliatives made no appeal to him and indiscriminate generosities he avoided, though the natural kindliness of his heart, as I have said, made him an easy pray to a tale of pity. It would be true to say that he devoted more time and thought to the public use of his money than he did to the making of it. If he saw in a movement the means of effecting large and beneficial changes in the social structure, he was never appealed to in vain, and the more practical and business-like the scheme and the less it bore the impress of mere philanthropy the better he liked it. Thus

he came with Joseph Chamberlain to the rescue of the Birmingham Rowton House Scheme when it seemed in peril. Referring to the incident in 1902 the *Birmingham Daily Mail* said:

> Personal influence is a powerful factor in company promotion, and it seems probable that the association of the names of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Cadbury have saved the Birmingham Rowton House Scheme from failure. Before their advent, such was the scepticism as to the compatibility of profit-making with philanthropy that, of the capital of £50,000 required for the carrying out of the original scheme, only £20,000 was forthcoming on the date fixed for the closing of the subscription list. The glamour cast over the scheme by these magical names gave renewed vigour to the company, and the subscribed capital has been doubled.

In the same way he joined Sir William Lever (Lord Leverhulme) in financing the interesting experiment of the London Missionary Society in starting the Papuan Native Industries, Ltd. The object of this enterprise was to develop the industries of New Guinea in the interests of the natives, and to prevent their exploitation by a purely mercenary commercialism. "At present, what is done by the missionary is often undone by the trader," he said, in speaking of the movement. "The missionary finding a quiet, worthy people sometimes has comparatively little difficulty in bringing them under the influence of the Gospel. But that influence is often destroyed by the unscrupulous white trader who prostitutes everything to gain. He will cheat and defile the native, who points to him and asks what the white man's God has done for him. What is wanted is a better, purer system of trading with these peoples. We ought not to exploit them, but to direct their labour into pro-

fitable channels, preserving their rights in their own land and their own national resources. We want to deal with them on reasonable principles and to show that justice permeates all our relations with them. Then our trading operations, instead of destroying missionary enterprise, will strengthen and fulfil it."

The same test of constructive usefulness was applied to social movements at home. From its inception the Anti-Sweating League, of which he was President, found in him its most generous and constant subscriber, and out of the work of this League he had the pleasure of seeing emerge the remarkable legislation for the suppression of sweating embodied in the Trade Boards Act. Another movement to which he contributed still more freely was the National Old Age Pensions League. Provision for the aged poor had always been a subject in which he and his brother had a deep interest. The firm of Cadbury Brothers had early instituted an old age pension scheme, referred to elsewhere, which in its main features had largely anticipated the subsequent legislation on the subject. But George Cadbury never regarded the experiments at Bournville as other than object-lessons for the general application, and he threw himself into the agitation for national old age pensions with great enthusiasm. In March, 1899, he summoned an important conference at Birmingham on the subject. It was attended by 630 delegates from Friendly Societies, Trade Unions, Town Councils, School Boards and other bodies throughout the Midlands, and



represented some 350,000 persons, and it was addressed by Charles Booth. George Cadbury was prevented from presiding over the conference by the death of his brother Richard, but he addressed a letter to the chairman, Councillor Stevens, in which he said:

GEORGE CADBURY *to* COUNCILLOR STEVENS

I regret that owing to the sudden death of my brother I cannot preside at the Conference for discussing an Old Age Pension Scheme. . . .

One of my brother's last acts was the building of 30 almshouses for the aged poor. He and I have long felt that as a Christian nation we ought to make some effort to add to the comfort of the aged toilers of our country, of whom it is computed one-third end their days as paupers; whereas if they had a pension by right they would no more be considered paupers than the generals, admirals, judges, and ex-ministers of the Crown who draw their pensions. From the intimate connexion we had with the working people for many years we knew that the workhouse was looked forward to with great dread by them. . . .

I hope that ultimately we shall adopt a measure similar to that passed in New Zealand a year ago, which secures a shilling a day to every man or woman over 65 years of age, in addition to any other sum they might have saved not exceeding a total income of £1 a week. That the provisions against imposture are fairly satisfactory may be judged from the attacks of the opponents of the Bill, some of whom said that "saints only need apply," and others that "imposters, loafers and ex-criminals would receive benefit."

I think Old Age Pensions would promote thrift. It is now hopeless for a man earning 20s. to 25s. per week, if he does his duty to his family, to provide for his future, whereas if he was sure of 7s. per week there would be inducement to add a trifle to it, either by joining a Friendly Society, by insurance, or by savings.

I believe in the end it would not be costly, as such allowance would not be much greater than the maintenance paid under the present Poor Law, and the aged people

would have the joy of remaining amid their accustomed surroundings, living possibly with sons or daughters without being a great burden to them.

May the comforts of these old folks not be sacrificed to the exigencies of party politics. I believe that Christian men of all parties will be willing to forward such a Bill. If some definite course could be decided upon and the members of the great Friendly Societies and Trade Unions were agreed that it must be carried through, and that they would vote for no candidate, whether he called himself Liberal or Conservative, who would not support such a measure, the next Parliament elected would secure some provision for the aged poor.

He saw that the first essential was to focus public opinion on the subject, and that this could not be done without an effective organization. It was from Browning Hall that such an instrument emerged in the shape of the National Old Age Pensions League, and to this body, from its origin to its victory, he supplied the financial driving power. Between them George Cadbury and his eldest son, Edward, contributed half the cost of the long campaign that culminated in the passing of the Old Age Pensions Act. It was the humanities as well as the economics of the question which appealed to him. "If we make the old people comfortable," he said in speaking on the subject, "and leave them above the fear of being parted from their relatives and from the dread of abject poverty they will, with their ripe experience, be of immense service to the State. For instance, what old woman is not delighted to look after her grandchildren? She often seems to care for them even more than she did for her own children, and if she has a small pension from the State and ceases to be a burden she will be a veritable blessing to the rising generation, which will have

the benefit of her influence and her care when the mother and father are busy or, as is often the case, at work. That is but one example of the far-reaching effect which old age pensions will have."

When, after years of hard work, the goal was achieved and National Old Age Pensions were a fact, the triumph of the League was commemorated by the placing of a memorial tablet on the walls of Browning Hall. The tablet, which bore the names of Charles Booth, G. N. Barnes, F. H. Stead, Edward Cadbury and Frederick Rogers, was unveiled in June, 1910, by George Cadbury who, in his speech, referred to the Old Age Pensions Act as the beginning, not the end. "We want," he said, "to see the whole scheme carried out—a shilling a day at sixty for every man and woman in the land from the Duke of Westminster downwards"; adding, with a laugh, "only with this condition, that if the Duke wants his pension he must go to the Post Office and get it."

In pursuit of this idea of applying his wealth to root causes and to preventive measures rather than palliatives, George Cadbury was especially attracted by the case of the children. To turn a wastrel into a good citizen was to him what a brilliant coup is to the gambler; but even more than the rescue of the lost he was moved by the idea of preserving the child from contamination. He believed that you could make anything of a child if, in Johnson's phrase, he was "caught young," and through all his criticisms of society there ran the constant lament at the waste and defilement of child life. Both human and social considerations were at the back of this emotion.

He was often moved to tears at the sight of ill clad and neglected children, but with this pity was associated the sense of the social waste which the neglect involved, and both in his business and his home life his first thought was the welfare of the child.

Probably no man ever entertained so many children as his guests. When he moved to Woodbrooke in 1881 he began the career of caterer for the children of the poor which made him familiar to successive generations of Birmingham children. The premises were convenient for the purpose. The house was surrounded by delightful grounds, richly wooded, and it was situated just near enough to Birmingham to be accessible to the children, and far enough away to have the true feeling of the country. In a field by Woodbrooke Farm, George Cadbury erected a large tent and arranged that water should be boiled, and milk, tea and sugar supplied for the children who were brought out from Birmingham schools. When in 1894 he removed to the Manor House, Northfield, he extended the facilities. The house was a little farther along the Bristol Road, but still well within the reach of Birmingham, and the wide extent of the grounds enlarged the possibilities of entertainment.

Here, close by the farm buildings, George Cadbury erected what was called "The Barn." It was a large rustic hall, lofty and airy, capable of seating 700 people. Adjoining it were elaborate kitchen arrangements, necessary for feeding large crowds of visitors. The work of catering became one of the activities of the Manor House. It was a work in which Mrs. Cadbury delighted, and it

was developed to a high degree of efficiency. During the summer the Barn was almost daily the centre of a jolly party who played in the fields, bathed in the pools, or fished in the stream that ran from the lake through the grounds. The bigger the party, the happier George Cadbury seemed. There could not be too many for him, and they could not be too young and too noisy. And at tea time, when the clatter of tea cups and saucers and the chatter of hundreds of busy tongues filled the Barn, he moved about among his guests the picture of delighted benevolence. If the company consisted of adults—and the Barn was used for all sorts of societies and companies—then at the close of the meal he would mount a chair and say a few words of welcome. These little speeches were always models of good taste. He had an admirable instinct for an occasion, and those who expected to find so intense a missionary of righteousness using his opportunities for direct appeals were pleasantly disappointed by the simple good will and friendliness of his words. He rarely failed to put in an appearance at the Barn when there was a gathering there, and if the weather was bad that was an additional reason for going.



"There are some people down at the Barn—teachers from Birmingham, I think," he said to me one wet afternoon. "Let us go down and cheer them up." We walked through the park and fields through a heavy rain, and as we approached the Barn loud sounds of hilarity greeted us. "They don't seem to need much cheering," said George

Cadbury. Inside the Barn the visitors were engaged in tumultuous round games, which were checked by a loud clapping of hands as Mr. Cadbury was recognized. He had come down to cheer them up under the depressing weather, he said, but he was delighted to see how little they needed it. "And that is the best cheerfulness," he went on, "which makes its own sunshine when the skies are grey. We can all be cheerful when things go well; it is when the sun has withdrawn his face that the test comes and we find whether we carry the sunshine within or are the mere creatures of outward circumstance." He had sown his seed, but he had sown it so tactfully and companionably that it seemed to belong to the game which it had momentarily interrupted.

It was the children, however, who formed by far the larger proportion of the 25,000 guests who were annually entertained at the Barn. They came without distinction of creed from Birmingham, and from the Black Country, by rail or brake or the canal, and they found in the spacious grounds every delight that could appeal to them —swings and cricket, races and games, above all the open air bath. This bath, which had a continuous flow of water, had been constructed on the course of the stream for the use of the boys and girls, who bathed in batches of 50—the girls before tea, the boys after—and, like the boy in the "Prelude," they "made one long bathing of a summer's day." It was a luxury that thousands of the children from the crowded streets of Birmingham had never enjoyed before, and their clamorous appeals to be allowed to go in "just once more" delighted their host more than any

formal gratitude could have done. He was conscious, however, that one day in the country, often in borrowed clothes, was no serious contribution to the problem that the streets of Birmingham provided. Fresh air and playing fields should not be a rare luxury of childhood, but their daily possession, and the provision of recreation grounds in the congested parts of Birmingham was an idea which found in him a constant advocate. On this as on all similar questions his views were full of practical common sense, the result of intimate knowledge and that painstaking thought which he gave to any subject that interested him. It was not enough to give money for playgrounds, and be done with it : it was equally important that the money should be spent in the most profitable way and on an intelligent plan. What his views on this matter were are indicated in the following letter to Mr. Nettlefold, who, when a member of the City Council, had interested himself in the extension of public playgrounds and also carried through an admirable housing scheme :

GEORGE CADBURY *to* MR. NETTLEFOLD

. . . I am glad that you have secured on my behalf the small open spaces in two of the most congested areas. Surely every one who passes through the back streets of Birmingham must be touched by the thought that in so many districts the little children have no place in which to play, except the dirty and dangerous streets. I am in hopes that well-to-do Birmingham citizens will have the opportunity to purchase more playgrounds in other parts of the city—there ought to be at least 100 such small spaces. It is difficult for little children to come far from their homes unattended, and playgrounds are of comparatively little use if more than three or four hundred yards from where they live, especially if a road has to be crossed. If all the planting is at the back and the front part is open

palisades towards the road, the children will be as safe from assault as when playing in the road itself, and will have the pleasure of coming into touch with nature, as some flowers can be grown, even in the very centre of Birmingham. If you care to give these little playgrounds distinctive names Mrs. Cadbury and I would like one of them named "Ursula," after our youngest daughter. We ask this to some extent in the interests of the movement, as some parents may like to have the playgrounds named after one of their children, or some other distinctive name, the connexion of which might probably not be recognized by the public, but would be a lasting memento for the family circle. The experience of the Committee for Preserving Open Spaces in London confirms the idea that a large number of small playgrounds are of infinitely more value to the children than very large ones at a distance, which can only be used at holiday times or when the children are accompanied by their parents.

His action in this matter was prompted by the idea of creating public opinion on the subject and forcing the hand of the authorities. The Baths and Parks Committee of the City Council at this time had refused an offer from the Birmingham Open Spaces Society, of which he was vice-president, of three playgrounds in the slums. They did so on the strange ground that the districts were unhealthy. It was as though the fact that a patient was sick was a reason for not giving him medical treatment. George Cadbury was very impatient with such unintelligent opposition, and took an active part in the effort to get it defeated.

It was largely in the interests of the children that Mr. and Mrs. Cadbury built a house in Bournville village which they called "The Beeches," and which they converted into a home of rest. During the winter the home was used for invalid or convalescent officers of the Salvation Army. For the work of this organization, as already indicated,

George Cadbury had a high regard, and he forwarded it by financial help in many directions. He had a special sympathy with the women who worked for the Army as officers. "I found," he said, "how many of these saintly women had given up comfortable situations to devote themselves to the work, living on a mere pittance, some of them not touching meat more than once a week, and with their constitutions seriously injured by their hard work in the slums of the cities. It is for such of these that have fallen ill and need fresh air and good food that Mrs. Cadbury and I have founded 'The Beeches.'" Here, under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Cole, provision was made for quiet and rest, pleasant grounds to wander in, hammocks slung in the sun and a shelter facing south ; a carefully selected library, and recreations for body and mind ; occasional visits to the Manor Farm and the unbroken peacefulness of the village. The guests came from all parts of the country, usually from the great cities.

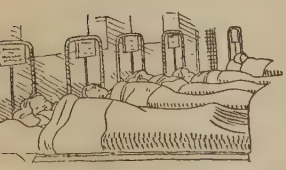
In the summer, however, the home was reserved for another purpose. Then it was that Father and Mother Cole entertained a succession of young visitors from Birmingham, children of the poorest, who came in batches to enjoy a miraculous fortnight's holiday, with plenty to eat, fields to play in all day, trees to climb, wonderful beds to sleep in o' nights, and a chorus of birds to wake them in the morning. No wonder that when the fatal day for departure came they were in tears or revolt. Then it was that some of them were unaccountably missing, to be discovered later by Father and Mother Cole



—hitherto their trusted friends—hiding behind doors, in cupboards and under beds. It was characteristic of George Cadbury that he did not miss so excellent an opportunity of acquiring useful data as to the effects of wholesome food and fresh air. The scientist always lurked behind the philanthropist. The children were weighed on arrival and when they left, and it was found that the average increase of weight in the fortnight was $2\frac{3}{4}$ lb.

While "The Beeches" gave joy to the healthy, another children's home which George Cadbury provided was designed for a sadder purpose. The case of the crippled child of the poor made a peculiarly strong appeal to his sympathies. "The crippled in body," he said to me, "has much more to endure than the feeble in mind. He is acutely susceptible to his defects, and as he grows up he feels increasingly his handicap in the race, and the sense of the burden he is to others." The appeal of the cripple was intensified by the fact that so frequently he found, as old Martin in Meredith's poem found, that the child was the victim of cruel circumstances or ignorant chance. In many cases he traced the disease to the wretched surroundings in which the child lived or to the carelessness of drunken parents. His sympathy with these little unfortunates gave him a keen interest in the work of the Birmingham Cripples' Union, and led him finally to a development of his benefactions which occupied much of his thought in his later years. Not far from the Manor House, and situated on the other side of the Bristol Road, in the parish of Northfield, was a spacious residence known as the Woodlands. It was a sub-

stantially built house, which was said to have cost £15,000 to erect, and was surrounded by six acres of gardens, parklands and woodland. The opportunity of purchasing this estate fell to George Cadbury at a time when he was feeling the need of some better means of dealing with the cripples of Birmingham than existed, and he bought the place, spent some thousands of pounds in converting it into an open air hospital, and vested the control in the hands of the Birmingham Cripples' Union. As the demands on the hospital increased, he added to the accommodation, and no work in which he engaged gave him more satisfaction. Every Sunday evening it was his practice to visit his little guests before their bed-time. On these occasions he left the Manor House with a large box of bars of chocolate under his arm. His entrance at the Woodlands was announced by the loud shouts of the children who were well enough to be in the grounds on crutches, and who gathered round him to give him an escort to the door—a piteous escort of white faces and maimed limbs. Perhaps some of the warmth of the welcome was due to the box under his arm, but still more of it



was a tribute to the gentleness and pity that always stirred in him and made his lips quiver in the presence of childish suffering. When he mounted the stairs and entered the open-air corridors, where on the sides of the quadrangle the bed-ridden children were lying, there was another shout of welcome. Then he opened his box and passed from bed to bed with his gift for each little child.

Some of the patients were little more than infants, others had been in the Home for long periods, even years. He knew all about each, what was wrong with them, how it came about, what hope there was of recovery. His manner on these rounds was quiet, almost timid. The mystery of suffering filled him with a certain reverence for the afflicted, and he moved through the wards as if he were in the presence of something sacred. Then, the round being over, he would leave the wards amid another volley of cheers, and go round the building and grounds with the Principal, discussing new schemes and perhaps producing plans for further developments—for the removal of outbuildings that shut out the view from the wards, or for the extension of the quadrangle in order to provide more open air accommodation.

His interest in children naturally did not exhaust itself with this attention to their physical needs and their amusement. It was necessary that they should be healthy in body, but he was still more concerned that they should be healthy in soul, and every movement, such as the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., or the Birmingham Union of Girls' Clubs — which owed much to his wife's active interest—found in him a generous supporter, and by his provision of the valuable site, made it possible for the Birmingham Y.M.C.A. to erect at a cost of £40,000 the new home which was opened in 1904 by the Duke of Argyll.

He was especially concerned for the promotion of the Sunday School, and during his presidency of the Sunday School Union he sent to every Sunday School teacher belonging to the Union throughout the country a series of hints on teach-

ing drawn from his own long experience. He was satisfied with no adult class which did not establish a Sunday School for the children of its members, and he attributed any failure in the Sunday School movement, especially its failure to convert the children into members of some Church, to the inadequacy of method. For this reason he welcomed the advent of Mr. Archibald with his schemes for regenerating the Sunday School, and was largely responsible for inducing him to make Bournville the centre of his remarkable experiment. He gave four acres of land for the erection of West Hill, the institution founded by his nephew and niece, Mr. and Mrs. Barrow Cadbury, for the training of superintendents for Sunday Schools and for the headquarters of Mr. Archibald's work.



Nor was his practical help in the work of spreading that Gospel which he believed to be the inspiration for the advancement of the Kingdom of God confined to his own neighbourhood or his own country. Mission work in all foreign fields appealed to him very powerfully, and for many years he was one of the largest contributors to the Friends' Foreign Mission Association. But it was the work in China which was nearest to his heart. He felt with peculiar keenness the shame of his country for its share in imposing on China the opium traffic with all the degradation that it involved, and few political interests occupied his mind more steadily than the redress of that great wrong. When at last the conscience of the country was really awakened and the abolition of the traffic was definitely inaugurated, he welcomed the be-

lated repentance with enthusiasm. But he was never satisfied with mere protestations. Long before there was any hope of undoing the consequences of the China War by legislative action, he had been helping to combat the opium traffic through the one instrument in which he had unfailing trust—the preaching of Christianity. The first fruits, indeed, of his savings were devoted to the China Inland Mission. At this time his means were small and money was still needed for the business, but he had a sum of £500 which he felt at liberty to give to some religious cause.

The history of the gift was characteristic of that reliance upon inward guidance and prayer which played so large a part in his actions. He told the story long afterwards before a gathering of 6,000 persons assembled at Bournville, and representing the various religious bodies in the district. He was speaking of the efficacy of prayer, and after a reference to the experiences of George Muller, he said : "It was my privilege to know Hudson Taylor, the founder of the China Inland Mission. I think that now there are something like 850 missionaries connected with the Society, the most successful missionary society in the world. Hudson Taylor came back from China and said there were no missionaries inland and asked for money to send out a hundred. One of his first meetings was held in Birmingham, and the father of my friend, Henry Lloyd Wilson, was in the chair. Apparently it was an entire failure. It was a wet night and there were only about six persons present, but among them was the aunt of Mr. Wilson. She consecrated herself to the work of the China Inland Mission, and the meeting,

through her, was the means of large sums being sent for the Mission. The sending out of a hundred missionaries would cost £10,000, and Hudson Taylor told me many years after that he prayed that it might be sent in large sums, for he was a poor man working alone, and if that £10,000 had been sent in half-crowns it would have needed 80,000 receipts. Twelve men sent the whole of that money. I was one of those twelve men, and it was the first large sum I had ever given—ten times larger than any sum I had given before. I had at that time never seen Hudson Taylor, but the spirit of God in answer to his prayer moved my heart and the hearts of eleven others. It showed me convincingly that we have a prayer-hearing and a prayer-answering God." "Some people call it telepathy," he would say—referring to this and similar incidents—in a tone as nearly approaching irony as he ever employed. It was not that he was wanting in respect for science, or even for a pseudo-science. It was that he shared with Carlyle the opinion that we had not explained the mysteries of existence when we had discovered the processes and given them labels. Other gifts to the Mission followed in after years, among them a handsome contribution which enabled Mr. Hudson Taylor to make tours on the Continent and in America in the interests of the Mission. Referring to this gift and its results Mr. Taylor wrote to George Cadbury a letter in which he said:

MR. HUDSON TAYLOR *to* GEORGE CADBURY

. . . Having still quite a considerable part of your gift in hand, I felt encouraged to accept Mr. Moody's invitation to attend his conventions in America. While there I visited a large number of towns both in the U.S.A. and in Canada.

GOD was with me and my companions, Mr. and Mrs. Reginald Radcliffe and Mr. G. B. Studd, together with my son. We sold a good deal of missionary literature at our meetings; and though we made no collections, personal donations were brought to us, to the extent (including the sales) of over £1,000, besides which several hundred pounds have been sent after us to China. But what was far more important, fourteen new missionaries went with me to China—another, accepted by me in Canada, is just reaching China, and there are more to follow. But for your kind gift I should not have been able to take this journey, as I never travel at the expense of the Mission. So in these two journeys you have indeed been a partner with me, and I hope will be pleased to know that even financially the expenditure of your funds has not been a loss.

One of the very last of George Cadbury's gifts, a donation of £5,000 to the Chientu University, showed that he retained his interest in missionary work in China to the end.

Among the many other Christian movements abroad in which he took a practical interest was that of the Doukhobors. He sent Mr. J. J. Neave out to inquire into the circumstances of their oppression in Russia, and subsequently assisted in the removal of this remarkable community to Canada. To the cause of temperance he contributed largely. His views as to legislative remedies, as explained elsewhere, departed from the stricter ideas of the more advanced reformers, but his devotion to the cause of total abstinence never changed, and no one probably contributed more largely to the funds of such institutions as the Band of Hope Union. His wife had a peculiar interest in that organization, for her mother (Mrs. John Taylor) established one of the first Bands of Hope in England. It was as a tribute to that lady's work and as a memorial of her life that Mr. and

Mrs. George Cadbury bought and presented to the Temperance Hospital in London—of which Mrs. Cadbury's uncle, Thomas Cash, was one of the founders—a house adjoining, where the nurses could have their meals and amusements away from the atmosphere of the hospital. To institutions like the Birmingham Hospital he gave very generously, and was at one time President of the Children's Hospital.

In any propaganda on behalf of a cause in which he was interested he was always ready to pay for the widespread distribution of pamphlets. He used this means of influencing public opinion very largely in such crises as the Boer War and on subjects of a social or educational character. Sometimes these distributions went into millions of copies. For example, soon after the outbreak of the Boer War he was impressed by the force of a leaflet issued by the National Arbitration League. He put it before the prominent Labour leaders of the country, and on his advice it was adopted for distribution under the heading "Labour Leaders and the War." Eighty signatures, representing the men in all the great manufacturing and transport industries, were appended and nearly three million copies were distributed in the workshops, the lodges and the homes of the working classes, the cost being borne by him. In the use of his wealth he was largely influenced by his faith not merely in institutions but also in the power of a personality. If he was impressed by the capacity of a man in any social, religious, or political direction he would privately help to open a career for him in the path that seemed most useful. In this way he was the means of giving an impulse to

many movements which he felt depended not so much upon material resources as on intellectual inspiration. His belief in the direct representation of Labour in Parliament, for example, led him, long before the advent of the Labour Representation Committee, to help to make it possible for a working man to bear the heavy charges of an election.

It is not the purpose here to attempt to make a complete record of George Cadbury's philanthropies. No such record indeed exists or is possible. If a useful purpose could be served by publicity he was quite ready to proclaim what he had done ; but in other cases he avoided advertisement, and would even convey the impression that he had spent less in a given direction than was supposed. "Oh, not so much as that, I think," he would say, "not more than half that. In any case I would prefer it should not be known. Not that my family object. They share my interests entirely and approve of all I do in this way. But (laughing) Mrs. Cadbury has her own causes you know, and this drain means that she has less for her work than she needs." But if no record of his gifts and no estimate of their value can be given, it may at least be said with confidence that, whatever the amount, he got an ample return for the expenditure. Giving was the most joyous business of his life. He was the converse of the Scottish packman who became one of the greatest brewers in Lancashire, and who to the end was notorious for his parsimony. "What is the good of saving all this money ?" asked a friend of him ; "your son will only spend it." "If my son," said the old man, "gets as much pleasure out of spending the money

as I have got out of saving it, I shall be satisfied." George Cadbury had no pleasure in saving, and believed that great inheritances were a curse rather than a blessing to children. He held that even from the point of view of worldly wisdom his policy was better, for he was the master of his wealth and not its slave. "The man who hoards his riches is miserable," he said, "and there is no truer word than this, that 'what I gave I have.'"





CHAPTER VIII

THE VILLAGE

The Idea of the Garden Village—An Experiment in Housing and Town-planning—Financial Basis of the Scheme—Formation of the Trust—George Cadbury's Genius for Detail applied to Housing—Democratic Government of the Village—Health Records—Influence of the Bournville Experiment on Later Housing Schemes at Home and Abroad—False Allegations.

IT was in 1895 that George Cadbury seriously entered upon a task the full achievement of which is his most conspicuous contribution to the history of his time. It was as the pioneer of the garden city movement that he exercised his widest influence upon thought and action, not only in this country but on the Continent and in

America. Bournville has become the seed-plot of ideas which are working a revolution in all civilized countries, and have changed the current of political thought. All George Cadbury's experience among the poor had paved the way for this experiment. It has been seen that from his earliest associations with the work of the Adult School in the slums of Birmingham he had been impressed by the influence of housing conditions upon character. This impression had deepened with time, and there grew in his mind the idea of showing a way out of the morass into which the land system and an uncontrolled industrialism had led society.

The germ of this scheme is to be found in the decision of the brothers to remove their works from Birmingham to the open fields four miles away. That step was largely dictated by the fact that contact with the country would have a beneficial effect upon their workpeople. It was not possible to house them at first, and most of them still lived in Birmingham; but it was obvious that the magnet of the works must ultimately draw most of them nearer to their occupation. This calculation proved sound. The business had undergone unceasing extension, and it was difficult to estimate the limits of its ultimate possibilities. The sheer force of economic necessity was bringing people into the vicinity, and must make the works the centre of a large population. If this inevitable development were left for exploitation by private interest, George Cadbury saw that the housing evils from which they had fled would reappear in a new setting. There would be a fierce speculation in land in the neighbourhood, the values created

by the presence of the works would be exploited by the speculator, the jerry-builder would crowd the soil with rows of mean houses, public-houses would spring up at every street corner, and at the end of all Bournville would be the centre of a new slum area hardly differing from those that had been left behind. The trek of 1878 would have been in vain, and would have to be repeated by a later generation of the firm.

His abstract desire to give an object lesson in housing, therefore, was reinforced by the immediate need of saving the industrial experiment from disaster. In this emergency he had to rely upon his own inspiration. The garden city idea, which has become a commonplace of to-day, was then hardly conceived. Professor Geddes, that most fertile of visionaries, had, it is true, been preaching town-planning to deaf ears, and Mr. Ebenezer Howard began soon after to advocate the idea which later culminated in Letchworth ; but he was regarded as a dreamer whose dreams were impossible of fulfilment in a practical world. If his dreams have been converted into brick and mortar, and if all over the country—at Hampstead, at Letchworth, at Wolverhampton and at Rosyth—the garden village idea has borne fruit, the fact is mainly due to the demonstration which George Cadbury gave at Bournville that slum conditions are not a necessity of our industrial system. He had to feel his way to the solution, and in the early stages he made some mistakes.

But he started from a sound principle. Clever people were puzzled at the success of a man whose manner of thought and whose ways were so different from their own, and who seemed so ill-

equipped with the smaller ingenuities of the world. What they did not sufficiently realize was that whatever he did was the product of simple but fundamental ideas faithfully adhered to. He believed that if the principle was right the result would be right. And so, with a sure instinct for the essential, he began by purchasing 120 acres of land in the neighbourhood of the works, an area which gradually increased to 842 acres including the property of the firm. He had long seen that the monopoly of the land was the source of bad housing conditions, and he had adopted the axiom of the land reformers, that land, as a necessary of life, should be used not to create wealth for individuals but to serve the interests of the community. He would point to the alienation of the land and to the transfer of its burdens to industry as the main cause of the miseries of our social system, and he was throughout an advocate of the appropriation of the public values of land to the use of the community. It was his main purpose in purchasing the land at Bournville to show what this appropriation would mean in raising the standard of civic life.

But it was not enough to secure the land and apply it to the need of the public. He did not say as Mr. Carnegie said, probably wisely in that case, to the Dunfermline Trustees, "Here is a gift ; find out the best way of using it." His aim was to solve the whole problem of housing and town-planning, and, while he employed the most competent professional advice and consulted anyone whose experience was valuable, he made it his chief task to supervise the experiment and control the main lines of its development. He had clear

and decisive views on all points. He planned the roads, the grouping of the trees, the elevations of the houses, the width of the pavements, the amount of garden space, the proportion of land allocated to park and playgrounds, and so on. Nor was the gift to the nation ratified until its precise form was fixed in bricks and mortar, an object lesson for generations to come. It was the work of years—a work exactly suited to his genius, since it associated his conception of service with visible and tangible results, and gave full play to that passion for detail which was so marked a feature of his character. He did not deny that the work had a certain value for his business. Indeed, it was a part of his scheme to appeal to the self-interest of the business man as well as to the mind and thought of the community. But no one who studied his mind and purposes could doubt the disinterested enthusiasm that possessed him in carrying out his experiment.

He was fortunate in being his own capitalist. In the case of the Garden City established some years after at Letchworth, the Hampstead Garden Suburb and other like experiments, there has been the labour of raising the funds necessary to development of the property. George Cadbury was able and willing to find all the money which his scheme required, and his whole attention could thus be devoted to the actual details of planning and architecture. He began by building 143 houses which he sold at cost price, on a lease of 999 years for the ground on which they stood. His idea was that the tenure should be as nearly freehold as possible ; but the condition of the lease made it impossible that the gardens should be destroyed or built over. Half the purchase cost was advanced

at the low rate of 2½ per cent. interest, and loans in excess of this half paid interest at the rate of 3 per cent. No single individual was to hold more than one acre or six houses. A condition of the loans was gradual repayment by the purchaser, several of whom told him that if they had not had this object in saving money they would probably have saved nothing. As an illustration of the working of this original scheme, we may take the case of a cottage costing £150. The position was:

Payment in advance	£30 0 0
Twelve yearly payments of £10	120 0 0
Interest diminishing yearly for 12 years	23 0 0
	£173 0 0

If a rent at six shillings a week had been paid for twelve years, the cost would have been £187 4s. The tenant thus saved £13 16s. on the usual rent, while securing the house in twelve years, and with the house a garden of considerable value.

The disposal of the houses in this manner did in its net result confer a gift upon individuals. Some of the leaseholders sold their houses at a profit of 10 per cent. to 20 per cent., and in one case of 30 per cent. This private enjoyment of unearned increment was contrary to George Cadbury's intentions. At an early stage, therefore, the policy of the estate was changed in a fundamental respect. The whole area of 500 acres, including the village, was handed over to trustees, under the control of the Charity Commissioners, as representing the nation. At the date of gift, the trust property was valued at £172,724. It then consisted

of 370 houses, of which 143 were paying ground rent, and the remaining 227 were let to weekly tenants. In 1924, the houses built or building at Bournville numbered 1,556, and the Trust Fund amounted to £402,203. George Cadbury liked to calculate that by compound interest the Trust so created will in 160 years enjoy an income of one million pounds a year. The endowment included £16,000 worth of shares in Letchworth, and other shares in the Hampstead Garden Suburb.[1]

It should be observed that from the outset George Cadbury resisted the temptation, if temptation it was, to become a kind of feudal magnate at Bournville. His original idea was, as we have seen, to sell the fee-simple of the houses outright. The "nine hundred and ninety-nine year leases" were a compromise, and, when finally it was found that short tenancies must be the normal arrangement, a Trust was set up as independent as possible. George Cadbury desired that there should be four trustees, appointed respectively by the Birmingham City Council, the District Councils, the County Council, and the Society of Friends. Mr. John Burns, however, and other experts in housing whom he consulted, strongly urged that the first trustees should belong to the Cadbury family, who after all had a special interest in an enterprise which still required close personal supervision. This was arranged for the first generation. Later there will be added to the Trust certain elected representatives as originally proposed. Again, there is not even a preference in houses for workers under the firm. Only about 40 per cent.

[1] The latest valuation is £470,000.

of the householders are thus employed, the exact distribution as ascertained some years ago being :

	Per cent.
Bournville Works	41.2
King's Norton	4.7
Selly Oak	13.9
Birmingham	40.2

It should be added that since the extension of the city boundaries "Birmingham" has included all the districts mentioned above within the area of its control.

George Cadbury's gift was thus absolute. He surrendered all private interest both in the capital and revenues of the estate. Indeed, he has in various ways added to the total of the original bequest. By the Trust Deed, the income from rents and every other source must be devoted, in the first instance, to making full provision for repairs and maintenance, and any surplus that remains must be employed in laying out the rest of the estate, in building houses, or in purchasing other estates near Birmingham or elsewhere, or in promoting by other means the better housing of the people. The present Trust thus acts as a constantly developing snowball. There are now about 1,550 houses on the estate, built or building, of which 952 are let on rent, sold or occupied, or let on rent by owners, 490, built by public utility societies, are let or sold to tenants and 114 are unfinished. In addition to the 842 acres of the Bournville estate the Trustees are now responsible for administering a further 1,000 acres in the neighbourhood of Birmingham.

The estate is not a charity. The tenants pay a fair, or what is technically called an economic, rent sufficient to defray charges of interest (on the basis of a yield of 4 per cent.) on capital invested. All that happens is that the revenues, instead of going to George Cadbury, as they would under normal conditions of land ownership, are automatically reinvested in model housing. George Cadbury was opposed to any plan for providing houses under cost price. Such a policy would have deterred capitalists from following the example of Bournville, since it would have meant that these experiments can only be run at a loss. What he wanted to show was that model housing yields a reasonable interest to the investor. He considered that wages should be fixed by their several industries at a level which allows for the payment of economic rent. He had no desire that Bournville should be used as a brick and mortar subsidy for sweated labour. These rents are exclusive of rates, which the occupiers pay separately, the theory being that a lump payment of both rent and rates would mask the reality of the civic obligation. Some twenty or thirty applicants apply for any vacant house, and tenants seldom leave the village unless they are removing from the district. The economic value of a garden has been proved by careful tests of twenty-five average gardens. Scales, weights and measures and book were provided, which showed the average value at 2s. per week, reducing the rent to that extent, and a production of over £58 worth of food per acre instead of £5 worth of food when in pasture land. Many of the tenants say that the healthy exercise and the amusement provided by a garden is of more value

than the vegetable, fruit and flowers produced. A garden provides a recreation infinitely more healthful and delightful than the indoor recreation of a city, especially to those working in factories.

Clearly there is room in England for a great multiplication of dwellings designed on the Bournville standard. This extension of model housing was rapidly proceeding before the war checked it. If there remains a residue of wage earners too impoverished to profit by decent housing, this merely means that housing by itself is not a complete solution of the social problems. George Cadbury himself saw this. He believed that employer as well as landlord has a duty. But he argued that good housing tends to diminish the residue just as bad housing contributes to that residue. The submerged mass is continually recruited from the very class which supplies applicants for tenancies at Bournville. Through sickness, drink, or other causes due to environment, families above the maintenance line frequently drop below it. Really good housing promotes neighbourliness, and diminishes these risks. It runs in line with what should be the aim of statesmanship—namely the progressive increase of the ordinary living conditions of health, comfort and security.

The conditions attached to the scheme were few and simple. Each house must have a suitable garden, and no building may occupy more than one quarter of the land allotted to it. The roads must be ample and bordered by trees, and at least one-tenth of the land in addition to roads and gardens must be reserved for parks and recreation grounds. In obedience to this last stipulation, six-

teen acres out of 118 acres, then developed, were set aside for open spaces, so that Bournville started its career with a village green, two parks, and two playgrounds, independent of the usual playgrounds at the schools. One of these playgrounds is so designed as to be suitable for children under twelve, who can be left there by their mothers under supervision—an immense boon for wives who have to run the home single-handed.



It may be claimed for Bournville, therefore, that nothing has been allowed to obstruct the free circulation of air and a maximum of sunshine. The roads are forty-two feet in width. The houses are set back at least twenty feet from the pavements, so that the distance between the actual frontages is eighty-two feet, and there are only seven houses to the acre. As far as possible the old trees have been preserved, but there has been in addition a considerable amount of new planting. The houses are of very varied elevations, and monotony of treatment is thus avoided. Equally important is the fact that the houses are placed, not in long straight rows, but irregularly—always, however, with an eye to picturesque unity, each house thus occupying an allotted place in the general vista. In judging of the architecture it should be remembered that there had to be simplicity of design if the best interior value was to be secured for the given rental. Beauty must be the handmaid of utility and expensive embellishments were discouraged. The standard design provides for a sitting-room, kitchen and scullery, three bedrooms, and the usual conveniences. In

a few cases, the two living-rooms are thrown into one of larger size, and a few of the cottages for families without children have only two bedrooms. Where there is no bathroom the bath is fixed in the kitchen or scullery. Sometimes the bath may be used as a table, but a better arrangement is for the bath to turn on a hinge and be shut up like a cabinet. One of the earliest ideas was to set the bath on the floor, with boards to cover it ; but this idea was abandoned and better bath and bathroom accommodation were provided.



In all this one discerns George Cadbury's genius for detail. He was not content with model housing in the abstract. He wanted every device that would ease life for the tenants. He turned his attention also to model furnishing and model gardening. One of the cottages at Bournville was reserved at first as an example of how to furnish simply and comfortably on a small sum. This was not a matter in which there could be compulsion on the tenants, but there was suggestion, experiment and some measure of invention. The condition of the gardens had a special importance because the whole aspect of the village depends upon it. This was a part of the scheme in which George Cadbury left as little as possible to chance. The usual plan in a new neighbourhood is for the occupier of a new house to make his own garden. It is a task involving considerable skill and expense; not all the tenants are equal to it. At Bournville the gardens are made for the tenant in advance. All that the tenant has to do is to keep them up. He finds that fruit trees have been

planted—apple, pear, plum, etc., that the gardening staff of the village is ready with advice when so requested, and that the village council lend out mowing machines and tools for hire, besides acting co-operatively through the Gardeners' Department for the purchase of plants, shrubs, and bulbs. A library of gardening books, with classes for men and boys, completes the communal equipment of the village in matters horticultural. The achievements of individuals are best appraised at the annual flower shows. George Cadbury liked to show how the fruit trees were so planted in each garden as to form an avenue of blossom behind the houses, but he rejoiced no less in the practical results to the cottagers, and at the interest shown in the flower shows at which there are over 1,000 exhibits.

Shops and even factories may be built upon the estate, but the latter are to be restricted in area to one-fifteenth of the whole. On one matter only does the deed of gift impose a condition, closely affecting the private discretion of the tenants. No public-house or building for the "manufacture, or sale, or co-operative distribution" of intoxicating liquor may be erected in Bournville without the unanimous consent of the trustees, signified in writing. And in the event of a public-house being started, the whole of the profits must be devoted to securing recreation and counter-attractions to the liquor trade as ordinarily conducted. In other words, the stipulations were first prohibition, and secondly, if all the trustees severally desire it, disinterested management.

In every scheme of town-planning there arises

the delicate question of religious worship. It would have been contrary to all George Cadbury's beliefs that he should desire to exercise pressure in such a matter. He and Mrs. Cadbury gave to the village a Meeting House for the Society of Friends, and land was set aside for a church hall, and a temporary church seating about 300 people was built.[1] A house in Linden Road was sold by the Trustees for a vicarage, the Bournville Village Trust giving £400 towards the cost. Otherwise the principles which should guide the Trust are laid down in a very explicit clause:

> The administration of the Trust shall be wholly unsectarian and non-political, and there shall always be a rigid exclusion of all influences calculated, or tending, to impart to it a character sectarian as regards religion or belief, or exclusion as regards politics, and it will be a violation of the intention of the founder, if participation in its benefits should be excluded on the ground of religious belief or political bias.

So far from discouraging the popular ideal, George Cadbury introduced the principle of democratic government, so important a feature of the Adult School movement, wherever possible. Thus he included in his plans a village institute, Ruskin Hall, available for social and educational purposes, and controlled by a committee on which the School of Art, the Village Council, and the trustees are represented. The Village Council is a body endowed with substantial authority. It is elected by ballot of the tenants, and the members, who are, of course, unpaid, retire in rotation, so

[1] The permanent church built on the land, given by the Trustees, is now erected and in use.

many each year. The Council manages the children's playground, the various garden shows, the children's fêtes, and many other village concerns. Two of the school managers are nominated by the Council, as well as two members of the Committee which runs the Ruskin Hall. All this represents for so young a community a substantial measure of conscious self-government. The power of the Trust is necessarily great, but the individual resident has at least as much influence over the communal life as he would have if he had been situated in an ordinary suburb of a large city where property holders are also powerful, though in that case without the same motives for consulting the needs of the occupiers.

In the planning of the estate one of the main conditions was the welfare of those sections of the population who were at the extremes of life. Richard Cadbury showed his sympathy with his brother's experiment by building and endowing a group of almshouses which form one of the most pleasing of the many pleasing pictures at Bournville. For the provision of schools George Cadbury and Mrs. Cadbury made themselves responsible. Just as the Friends' Meeting House, which they also built, is a model of beauty and simplicity, so the schools with their double clock tower, their spacious playgrounds, their abundant and elaborately planned classrooms, their library, laboratories, and handicrafts shops furnish a model of school architecture and equipment that will not be paralleled in any village community in the country. They embodied George Cadbury's passion for the rising generation. Like



"The Master Builder," he heard the coming generation "knocking at the door," but the sound filled him with no terror—only with an eager desire to make the new tenants of the social structure more worthy than the old. His views as to extravagance were the reverse of the normal. It was economy and not extravagance to spend freely on schools and playgrounds. The real extravagance was in using up the young life of the community before it was formed, and preparing it, not for useful service, but to swell the ranks of casual labour. Much of the new enthusiasm for the training and development of the child had its roots in the experimental work at Bournville, and it is significant that the first example in the country of the day-continuation school held in the employer's time was set by Cadbury Brothers, Limited, acting in close co-operation with the Local Education Authority.[1] Cadbury Brothers, Limited, pay for the time off, and arrange through their works' organization for the students to be liberated at times mutually convenient to the schools and the works. The firm also pay for the services of physical instructors at these schools.

It would be a mistake to regard the splendid village schools of Bournville as a rich man's extravagance. They represented a rich man's view of economy. The ultimate cost was £30,000. This, of course, was exclusive of the value of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land given for the schools. It was characteristic of the opposition which George

[1] New buildings, occupying a central position in the village, were provided for this purpose at a cost of £26,000. There are two separate schools, one giving accommodation for 240 youths and the other for 340 girls.

Cadbury encountered in carrying out his purposes, that even in making this handsome gift to the community he had to fight a hard battle against the familiar forces of "economy." The schools would come under the control of the King's Norton Education Committee, and that body looked the gift horse in the mouth with surprising suspicion. It was true that it relieved the ratepayers of King's Norton of the cost of erecting schools ; but George Cadbury's plans were held to be too extravagant. He deplored the false economy of large classes and few teachers, and with characteristic precaution he arranged that the plans should provide for a maximum of forty-five children in each classroom. The committee urged that the maximum should be raised to fifty-five. This would have saved George Cadbury £2,000 on the cost of building, but economy of that sort was not what he desired. He insisted on the smaller classroom, and as the committee would not yield he carried the case to the Board of Education, who supported his scheme and endorsed his plans. In the tower of the school Mr. and Mrs. Cadbury, who during a visit to Bruges had been much pleased with the carillon of that famous city, placed a ring of twenty-two bells. They were cast at Loughborough, and are described by Mr. Starmer, the well-known expert, as the finest set of bells in the country—not, of course, the heaviest, but the most perfect. The carillon plays four times daily, hymns and national airs, the tunes being changed on alternate days. The largest bell bears this inscription, "Given by George Cadbury in 1906 to the village of Bournville. 'Whene'er the sweet church bell, Peals

over hill and dell, May Jesus Christ be praised.'" In 1923 the carillon was augmented by Mr. George Cadbury, jr., to three full chromatic octaves of 37 bells, and in 1925 the addition of five more bells brought the carillon up to 3½ octaves of 42 bells, omitting the two bottom semi-tones.

It is not possible to form any estimate of the effect of the Bournville experiment upon the moral and intellectual life of the community, but its effect upon health and physique are ascertainable. In the early days of the experiment a writer in the *Birmingham Daily Post* said, "It will be interesting to read the report of the medical officer of health for the village fifty years hence. It should boast a phenomenally low death rate." It has not been necessary to wait fifty years for the evidence of facts. Twelve years later George Cadbury instituted a comparison between the height and weight of children at Bournville and those of children in the Floodgate Street area—a very poor district in Birmingham. At every age from six to twelve years the Bournville children, boys and girls, were heavier than the Floodgate Street children by several pounds, the figures at the final age being:

	Bournville.	Floodgate Street.
	lbs.	lbs.
Boys	71.8	... 63.2
Girls	74.7	... 65.7

That test, coupled with the fact that on the average the Bournville children were from two to three inches taller, demonstrates conclusively, if demonstration were needed, the relation of the garden city movement to the maintenance of the

race. The vital statistics are equally emphatic. The death rate for Bournville, taking the average of the five years ending with 1923, was 7.3 per 1,000. In Birmingham it was 12.0 per 1,000, and for England and Wales as a whole it was 12.6. It may be contended that the Bournville population is at the present time composed in the main of persons in the prime of life, and that as the community ages the death rate will rise. Such a consideration would not, however, affect the infant mortality. In England and Wales the mortality in the same period was 79.6 per 1,000 births. In Birmingham it is 81.6. In Bournville village it is only 61.8. One conclusion that follows is worth recording. George Cadbury saw in the example of Bournville the real answer to the plea that the physique of the nation can only be conserved by national military service. There are exercises for the body at Bournville—plenty of them ; there is physical drill, but he realized that none of these things would raise the standard of strength and fitness among the citizens of the future, girls as well as boys, without the accompaniment of that light and air, those gardens and homes which are denied to the people by our present land and housing system.

The effect of Bournville on public thought was immediate and widespread. The lesson came at a time when the Imperialism which had occupied the 'nineties was exhausting itself and when the new social movement was beginning to take form. The investigations of Charles Booth, followed by those of Mr. Seebohm Rowntree, into the life of the poor, gave impetus to the movement, and turned the public mind with increasing concern

to the question of the condition of the people. The vital importance of housing which Dickens had insisted on fifty years before, was at last fully recognized. But it was one thing to realize a problem and another to solve it. And it was because it had been solved at Bournville that the village became so invaluable to the social reformer. He found here a working model which gave guidance, not merely on questions of planning, but on the much more difficult economic questions which were involved. It was not, of course, the solitary or even the first model village that had been built. Scattered over the country were a few definite schemes of village housing ; but these were small ; they were the personal hobbies of a few generous landlords, largely provided for their own retainers, and they threw no light upon the subject in its relation to industry or the necessities of the country as a whole. The scheme which Lord Leverhulme was carrying out at Port Sunlight was valuable, but it was conceived on other lines, as an integral part of an industry. It was because Bournville was not an integral part of the works, and was based on ordinary economic considerations, that it presented lessons which could be found nowhere else.

It was true, of course, that it had advantages which could not be generally enjoyed ; but those exceptional advantages had reference to the application of the public value of the land to public purposes, and did not diminish the importance of the experiment in relation to the development of housing on lines at once reasonably remunerative and socially beneficial. If George Cadbury had retained the land values he had created for him-

self instead of giving them to the community, Bournville would still have furnished an equally good model for the housing reformer. The intention in creating it had not been to give an example of philanthropy, but a business illustration of how to provide the working classes with good homes, good gardens, and the maximum of light and air at an economic rent. That the payment of that rent involved a relatively high standard of wages was, of course, a vitiating circumstance ; but George Cadbury's efforts in regard to housing outside the works must be seen in relation to his efforts inside the works to set up a standard of high wages and good industrial conditions. His activities as a housing reformer were not divorced from his activities as an employer. They were the two sides of the one problem.

It was in the September of 1897 that the pilgrimage to Bournville began in real earnest. The new Garden City Association which had sprung into existence to carry out the ideals of Mr. Ebenezer Howard, and of which George Cadbury was an enthusiastic supporter, and his son, Edward Cadbury, a director, held its conference at Birmingham, and paid a memorable visit to Bournville, which Mr. Howard said gave the needed impetus to carry out the Garden City idea. Thenceforward the stream of visitors was ever increasing. They came, " single spies " as well as in " battalions," from across the Atlantic as well as from every European country, and from China, India, and Japan. The effect on opinion in this country was immediate and striking. It brought housing ideals out of the clouds to the solid ground of fact. It operated in two directions.

It created an instructed public opinion on housing and town-planning, and it inspired other individual experiments, like that of Mr. Joseph Rowntree at Earswick, near York, and that of Sir James Reckitt, near Hull. "It is not possible," said Bishop Gore in addressing the National Housing Reform Council at Birmingham in 1906, "to measure the debt we owe to Mr. Cadbury. At Bournville we have something more valuable than a photograph of a German city." Mrs. Barnett, who, with her husband the late Canon Barnett, had been a close friend of Mr. and Mrs. Cadbury, caught her enthusiasm for the movement at Bournville, and carried the seed to Hampstead. There, in addressing the German Garden City Association on their visit to the suburb, she acknowledged that Bournville was the "parent of the whole movement."

Nor was the influence felt in England alone. French and German interest was early aroused in the movement, and visitors from the Continent came in increasing numbers. Through the Press, the pulpit, and the platform the fame of the experiment became widespread, and its influence in shaping thought can hardly be exaggerated. Housing became the theme of all the political parties, and movements more or less on the lines of Bournville sprang up all over the country. Probably no tribute to the value of the Bournville experiment in housing gave George Cadbury more pleasure than a Memorial forwarded to him from the Trades Union Congress and signed by Mr. H. Gosling as Chairman, by Messrs. Bowerman, Henderson, G. H. Roberts, J. H. Thomas, and others, in connexion with a special gathering of

the National Housing and Town-Planning Council held in Congress week in his honour. After expressing their disappointment that he was not able to be present, the memorialists addressed him as "a pioneer of better conditions of life both in the home and in the factory," and spoke of his achievement as "the work of a great Englishman, filled with a generous and noble desire to serve his fellow-men."

This was in 1916. George Cadbury was under no illusions as to the hard fight that would be necessary to maintain a decent standard of housing after the War, and he replied:

October 30th, 1916.

. . . I am most anxious that when the War is over, our country may lead the way in improving the conditions under which those live who do the work of the world. This will not be the case without a united effort.

Militarism has always been a curse to the workers where it has been in the ascendant. Wars increase the wealth of the already wealthy, who have practically all the interest on war loans, but the sufferings of the poor at the end of war have been terrible; for example, at the close of the wars with Napoleon a century ago.

I am now in my 78th year, and though unable to take an active part, do feel intense sympathy with those who are struggling to stem the tide, which, during the War, has apparently been sweeping all before it, and has undone the legislation on behalf of Labour which took generations to secure.

The little children of our land ought to live in healthier and brighter homes. The United Kingdom has a population of 45 millions; this, reckoning five to a family, gives 9 million households, for which cottages and gardens occupying 10 to the acre would cover 900,000 acres—not a million acres out of the 77 million in the United Kingdom—but probably not much over half this number would be found needful. From careful tests at Bournville we find that one acre of garden ground will produce twelve times as

much food as one acre under pasture, so that while producing healthy children, cottage gardens also produce an increased food supply.

The battle will be a severe one. Wealth gives enormous power. The wealthy hold the land, millions of acres of which provide for a mere handful of men sport, such as hunting, shooting, and racing. This land might produce ten times as much food if properly cultivated, and many million acres set apart for deer forests might produce timber and provide healthy and profitable employment.

Those who have fought our battles and saved the Empire ought, on their return, to find room in their own land and healthy homes to dwell in.

You have the sympathy of good men of all classes and of all denominations in this arduous struggle for the toiling millions. May you, their chosen leaders, have the needful wisdom and strength.

The Bournville scheme was not without its critics, but they were either negligible or interested and may now happily be forgotten.

The movement was one to which George Cadbury contributed not by dogmatic formulas but by suggestion. He did not say Bournville proves this or that. He said, "Here are certain facts; form your own conclusion from them." Thus, when entertaining a Conservative Conference at Bournville in 1907 he was asked "whether land nationalization would answer the same purpose as that for which the village was designed," he cautiously declined a direct reply, and addressed himself to showing what his aims had been, and how far they had been accomplished. In this way he kept the minds of others open and accessible, and permeated their thought with his own spirit. Few adventurers in the realm of practical ideas have had more immediate or visible success, for, apart from the multitude of schemes on Bournville

lines which have been put into operation in this country and on the Continent, the movement has fundamentally influenced political tendencies. Town-planning is now recognized on the Statute Book. Great educational foundations are allowing their landed property to be laid out on these lines, and at Rosyth the Admiralty has put the garden-suburb idea into practice. Before the War put a stop for the time being to housing reform, a powerful Government declared for a Ministry of Land which should handle with national authority the problems which George Cadbury set himself to solve at Bournville. And even in the extreme case of the underpaid agricultural labourer, it was laid down by Mr. Lloyd George that whatever cottages were built by the State must be let at an economic rent. This meant that in Liberal policy George Cadbury's fundamental axiom of housing finance had been adopted, although it conflicted sharply with the principle of State subsidy which was applied to cottage building in Ireland and advocated by many Liberals as well as by Conservatives for application in Great Britain. He held strongly that the real solution of the housing question lay in the decentralization of industry, in the policy of moving factories into the country, of which Cadbury Brothers, Limited, had been the pioneers; but he knew that this was only half of the difficulty.

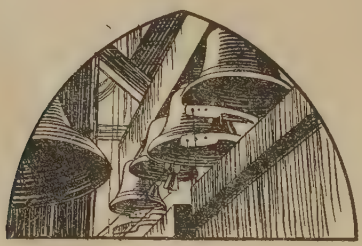
George Cadbury believed that the compulsory purchase of land at its rateable value was a *sine qua non* of any national housing scheme. Writing to his son Henry on November 30th, 1918, he said:

BOURNVILLE, BIRMINGHAM,
November 30th, 1918.

. . . I believe the real solution for overcrowding is to move factories into the country, and where that is not possible to have tram lines running in all directions at cheap fares, it may be to land outside of the urban district, which should be purchased on the basis of the value at which it is rated; this is the landlord's own valuation and he should not complain.

For housing, land ought to be obtainable anywhere. It would be a great mistake to confine the compulsory purchase to urban land only. Millions of acres are wasted that would yield probably ten to twelve times as much food if properly cultivated by men with small holdings, say, of 20 or 30 acres, who could work in co-operation, as in Denmark, which is the best object lesson we have of how to utilize land. If the land was used as it ought to be—urban and rural—it ought to pay most of the taxation of the country.

Although the progress with housing was lamentably checked by the War, the seed sown at Bournville was not lost. The village which began as the dream of a man nearing old age, has become a factor in the social history of this country, and indeed of the world.





CHAPTER IX

UNITY OF THE CHURCHES

Practical Christianity—Cardinal Newman visits Bournville —Good Relations with Anglican Clergy—Admiration for the Work of the Salvation Army—Movement for Co-operation between the Birmingham Churches—A Free Church Pastoral System — Foundation of the National Council—Welfare of Young Boys and Girls —A Free Church Central Library—George Cadbury against any Political Action by the Council—The Education Bill Crisis.

THE entire freedom of George Cadbury's mind from sectarian bitterness or predilections was one of his most notable characteristics. He was indifferent to the controversies of the schools, never discussed questions of dogma, and was content to judge every man's Christianity by

its fruits rather than by its professions or opinions. When Napoleon's generals claimed a victory, he said "Show me your prisoners!" George Cadbury's test of a man's quality was equally searching. He did not ask "What does he think?" but always "What has he done?" This was due not merely to a natural habit of intellectual tolerance, but still more to a vivid sense of the deplorable wastefulness of sectarian strife. In the presence of the wrongs of society he was impatient with those who made differences of doctrine an obstacle to common effort in common work. There was room for infinite variety of view on the theology of Christianity; there was, he felt, no room for difference in regard to the practical application of the teaching of Christianity to the problems of the poor, the oppressed, the hungry, the ill housed, the neglected child, the aged and impoverished. And his constant aim was to prevent doctrinal disagreements from operating to keep men asunder in the field of social service. His own relations with men of other churches or of no church were always of the most cordial kind, and neither in his business nor in his religious work was there ever any attempt to proselytize. He was anxious that the vicious should change their lives, not that they should change their church. This was not always realized by those connected with other bodies, and in connexion with the morning service which was conducted at the works there was much concern among the priests of the Roman Catholic Church. There was, of course, no compulsion to attend the service, but as a matter of fact Roman Catholics did attend with the rest. The matter was brought before Cardinal Newman, who

visited Bournville with a view to asking the brothers Richard and George Cadbury to allow the Roman Catholics to have a separate service. "I asked the Cardinal," said George Cadbury, in recalling the incident, "whether the singing of a hymn of praise to our common Lord, the reading of a portion of Scripture, and the offering of a prayer could have any harmful effect upon members of his flock. I asked him if they attended the services of the Church less regularly or were in any sense less devout Catholics on this account. He admitted that the priests said they were not. He was a lovable old man. I have often found I had more unity of spirit with those from whom I differed in opinion than with those with whose opinions I agree. And though I am a Quaker, and he was a prince of the Roman Catholic Church, I found much unity of spirit between us. He gave utterance to the dogma that there is no salvation outside the Church of Rome, yet he displayed the real catholicity of his spirit in lifting his hands above me in blessing before he went, and saying, 'Mr. Cadbury, God will find some means of saving you.'"

With the Anglicans George Cadbury always preserved intimate and happy relationship. When the bishopric of Birmingham was founded, and Dr. Gore was appointed to the new see, no one was more gratified than George Cadbury. Dr. Gore brought to Birmingham precisely that spirit which he felt to be most needed, the spirit of cordial co-operation for social ends, and throughout the Bishop's career in Birmingham he found no more loyal colleague, and certainly no more sincere admirer than George Cadbury. And when in due

course Dr. Wakefield succeeded to Dr. Gore he extended the same warm sympathy to him — a sympathy the keener, because Dr. Wakefield, as Vicar of Marylebone, had been one of the most enthusiastic workers on behalf of the Sweated Industries Exhibition at the Queen's Hall, financed and organized by George Cadbury through the *Daily News*, which had had so valuable an influence on legislation. With the clergy in and around Birmingham George Cadbury worked with equal cordiality. When Canon Denton-Thompson, the Vicar of Birmingham, was appointed to the see of Sodor and Man, in December, 1911, George Cadbury wrote a letter to him in which he said:

GEORGE CADBURY *to* DR. DENTON-THOMPSON

It is with mingled feelings that I congratulate you on your appointment to the Bishopric of Sodor and Man. Those who are striving for better social conditions for the poor and for more practical Christianity in the churches will greatly miss your leadership, but you will always look back with pleasure to the good seed that you have sown, which I cannot doubt will bear much fruit in God's own time.

This good will had a practical expression at Bournville. Here, as already stated, George Cadbury had built a handsome and commodious Meeting House for the community to which he belonged, and to the services held there were attracted many in the village who were not members of the Society. For some years this was the only place of worship in the village, but when the Anglicans expressed a desire to have a church of their own, and to make Bournville an ecclesiastical district, George Cadbury not only welcomed the idea, but through the Village Trust gave land for

the purpose. When the scheme was formally inaugurated by Dr. Wakefield in November, 1911, George Cadbury was present, and in presenting the site made a speech, in the course of which he said that all who knew the condition of Birmingham and the suburban villages must be convinced of the necessity for united action by Christians, and that they should seek to work together, uniting on essentials and dwelling less upon the non-essentials. He was no less loyal to Quakerism by appearing on that platform that evening than they were to the Anglican Church by inviting him on to it. "A larger proportion of the inhabitants of Bournville attended places of worship than in working-class quarters of our cities; coming into touch with nature brings men into closer touch with nature's God. Real Christians are to be found in all Christian churches; it is therefore a waste of energy to proselytize instead of seeking out those, probably at least two-thirds of our population, who are outside all the churches. The Friends' Meeting House is the only place of worship in the village, and many Anglicans attend, but probably they would have more help and blessing from attending a service conducted upon different lines. Our Lord's prayer, that 'they all may be one,' will probably be fufilled not by all holding precisely the same creed, but by recognizing Christ's teaching that 'love is the fulfilling of the law.'"

When, a year later, the foundation stone of the Church Hall was laid, Mrs. George Cadbury performed the ceremony, and George Cadbury was present. At the close the Archdeacon of Birmingham, the Rev. C. Mansfield Owen,

thanked the Cadbury family for their generous donation of the site and said : "It is an indication that all parties are going to work together for the glory of God."

In this wide tolerance there was a peculiarly warm place for the Salvation Army. That movement fulfilled George Cadbury's ideal of practical religion, and from its inception he was one of its most steady friends and supporters. It was always the people outside the churches about whom he was concerned, and the vitality and worth of an institution were judged by its success in reaching the outcasts of society. Nothing filled him with so much indignation as the comfortable church which ministered to its own members, and left those outside uncared for. If a church did not fulfil the functions of a missionary enterprise it was, *ipso facto*, condemned. It was a false steward. This indignation increased as he grew older, and sometimes led him into a sweeping severity of criticism of the "lazy ministers" that was not always just. But it proceeded from his sense of the magnitude of the wrong in the world and his eagerness to hasten the steps of justice and of mercy. It was because the Salvation Army sprang from the slums and made its appeal to the slums that it found in him so generous a friend. His feeling was all the more sympathetic because of the Army's indifference to dogma. He admired General Booth, and preserved a cordial friendship with him, entertaining him more than once at Northfield. But it was the officers of the Army who won his peculiar affection. He saw in them the best example of practical self-sacrifice — an order of poor brothers and sisters devoted to

working in the abyss of society for less than the wages of a day labourer—and none of his tasks gave him more pleasure than his service to these humble workers in the social field when they fell sick.

To The Beeches at Bournville, which he and Mrs. Cadbury had built primarily as a convalescent home for poor children, a wing was added as a home for twelve disabled Salvation Army officers, and here for several years some 200 a year in turn passed from two to six weeks of convalescence amid delightful surroundings.



It was with the idea of bringing something of the fervour of the Salvation Army for social service into the life of the Free Churches generally that George Cadbury took an important part in initiating a movement destined to have a powerful influence upon the religious life of the country. He had always been possessed with the missionary enthusiasm. He did not, like Robert Arthington, give his hundreds of thousands for work in heathen lands hitherto untouched by the Gospel. He was not indifferent to foreign missions; indeed, he followed them with the keenest interest, contributed £500 to £1,000 a year towards them, and made a practice of distributing widely such books as that of Pastor Hsi. Reference has already been made in this book to his enthusiasm for the China Inland Mission.

But his experience as an adult school teacher in Birmingham had impressed him with the enormous task that remained to be done at home, and he came to the conclusion that the most useful

work he could do was to concentrate on the home missionary field. The waste which resulted from the separation of the Free Churches seemed to him not only disastrous but purposeless, because it did not spring from any essential difference of religious conviction, but merely from disagreements in regard to church government. Nor was it the waste only that impressed him; it was the false direction given to activities by the spirit of competition in a field where the only profitable motive was co-operation. If, instead of competing and overlapping, the churches could organize themselves on a common basis and allocate to each specific area specific tasks, the result would not merely be increased efficiency but the generation of a new and better spirit. This view gave him the keenest interest in any tentative experiments in the direction of co-operation, and it was largely due to his efforts that the National Free Church Council came into existence.

The movement had its origin in the Midlands, the first local Council of Free Churches being formed at Worcester in 1881. The example was followed at Stratford-on-Avon in 1884, at Leamington and Warwick in 1890, and at Walsall in 1892. In that year the Birmingham Wesleyan Methodist Council expressed the desire for similar co-operation with Free Churches in the city. George Cadbury, who had been following the movement closely, entered into the proposal with enthusiasm. He suggested as a preliminary that it was necessary to ascertain the actual facts as to the religious life of Birmingham. How far was the church life of the city adequate to the needs of the community? To what extent was the

ministration of the various bodies accepted by the people? He believed that the vast mass of the inhabitants were altogether outside the churches, and that if there was to be effective work done towards correcting this state of things, the truth must first be definitely ascertained. He proposed, therefore, that a census of the attendances at the various places of worship in Birmingham and its suburbs should be taken, he himself undertaking to bear the cost. The work was carried out under the direction of Mr. James Rutherford, then General Secretary of the Birmingham Sunday School Union, and on November 27th, 1892, the census took place, the attendances at 426 places, churches, mission halls, etc., with seating accommodation for 180,208 persons, being counted. The census revealed a condition of things which fully justified George Cadbury's disquiet. The provision available in the churches and other places of worship was equal to only 27 per cent. of the population, instead of 58 per cent., which Mr. Horace Mann regarded as necessary, and not much more than half this accommodation was actually used at one time.

With the publication of the figures of the census the question of the action to be taken was promptly faced. It was necessary first to discover why the churches had lost touch with the people, and to do that direct inquiry was necessary. George Cadbury, with the approval of Dr. Dale, the Rev. F. L. Wiseman, and other denominational leaders, convened a conference which was held in Barwick Street on February 20th, 1893, and attended by nearly 300 ministers and elected representatives of the churches.

The proposal to divide the town into districts and to undertake a simultaneous house-to-house visitation was agreed to, but Dr. Dale opposed the idea of forming a Free Church Council. He took the line that the intervention of an organized church in the secular affairs of men was always bad. His attitude had some support; the question aroused discussion throughout the country, and seemed to threaten a serious conflict in Nonconformist opinion. The meeting, however, was overwhelmingly against Dr. Dale, and a resolution in favour of taking steps to form a council was adopted by a large majority. The committee were instructed to carry out the house-to-house visitation at once. Every church was consulted as to the area it would undertake, and 161 areas were mapped out. The total area thus divided was forty-eight square miles, containing about 150,000 houses. More than 4,000 visitors volunteered, and a large meeting of visitors was held in Carr's Lane Chapel on April 24th.

The month of May was fixed for the work, and over 75,000 report forms were returned. These were sorted, and all that had reported attendance at any given place of worship were sent without respect of creed to the minister of the church named, while those that did not so report were sent to the church by whom the visitation of the particular house had been conducted. In July a subsequent conference was held, and it was resolved to adopt in each case, with modifications where desired, the district visited as the district or parish of the associated church for permanent visitation.

The success of the visitation gave impetus to

the movement for the formation of a Free Church Council in Birmingham, and the scheme was formally inaugurated on November 27th, 1893, at a public meeting at which George Cadbury presided. In his speech he said that 154 churches belonging to ten different denominations had willingly united in an endeavour to promote the welfare of the inhabitants of Greater Birmingham. The census taken about a year before, he said, showed that on Sunday evening considerably more than one-half of the churches and more than one-half of the chapels were not half filled. On that evening 99,600 people attended places of worship in Greater Birmingham, while 569,000 were outside, or something like $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. The Free Churches of Birmingham had done noble work in the past; they had trained up men who had been a blessing to their fellow-citizens, and as Dr. Dale pointed out at their first meeting, in this way they would become a greater blessing to the community at large than by any direct action of the churches themselves on public questions. More than one-half of the children attending Sunday Schools in the city were in schools belonging to the Free Churches, but nine out of ten of these children attending Free Church and other Sunday Schools belonged in after life to no church at all. How could they be made into good Christian citizens? Now that each church would have a definite area, every individual member would have abundant scope for effort. They must enter upon this work in no spirit of antagonism towards other churches. Let their energies be directed towards attacking sin, the main cause of human misery, and they would be doing a thousand times more good by

bringing the ungodly into religion's ways, which are ways of pleasantness, than by denouncing Roman Catholics, Unitarians, or any other religious body. Darkness and sin abounded around them, and he hoped that every church would be a centre of life in the district assigned. The badge of discipleship was not the creed they professed, but the daily endeavour to follow in the footsteps of Him who came to seek and to save that which was lost.

This was the attitude which George Cadbury took in after years towards the work of the movement of which he was so largely the author. He was strongly convinced that if England was to become a Christian country it would only be by every Christian entering, in addition to his other duties, into some kind of work in connexion with the church to which he was attached, and the only way in which this could be done methodically was by the dividing of every town into parishes, each Free Church having its own parish assigned. Greater Birmingham was divided into 154 parishes belonging to ten denominations with very little if any friction. Some churches worked their districts well, and the result on the whole was so satisfactory that George Cadbury paid the whole or part cost of the preparation of about 100 maps (similar to the one he had had prepared for Birmingham) for other towns and cities in England.

George Cadbury was elected first president of the new Council and served in that capacity until 1898, when he was succeeded by the Rev. F. L. Wiseman. In the meantime the extension of the movement on national lines had been definitely

accomplished. There had been a Congress of the Free Churches at Manchester in 1892. Its success was equivocal, and when invitations were issued for another Congress to be held at Leeds in March, 1894, the response was so meagre that Dr. Mackennal, who was organizing it, was uncertain whether it could be held or not. It was at this critical stage of the idea of federation that the Birmingham Council, now locally very powerful, sent an invitation to the Congress to hold its meeting at Birmingham in 1895. This invitation, said Dr. Mackennal, " saved the Congress." He resolved to go forward with the Leeds fixture, and although it aroused little enthusiasm among the Leeds Free Churches, and was attended by only a few of the denominational organizations, it was decided to accept the Birmingham invitation for the following year on a Free Church Council basis.

It was the Birmingham Congress held in March, 1895, which finally established the National Free Church Council. Dr. Berry, of Wolverhampton, was the president of the Congress, and Dr. Townsend, of Birmingham, the honorary secretary. The Mayor gave a reception to 600 delegates on the Monday evening, and a great meeting was held in the Town Hall on the Tuesday evening. The problem before the new organization was primarily one of finance, and it occurred to Mr. Rutherford, the secretary of the local council, that George Cadbury might be willing to do for the National Council what he had done for the Birmingham Council. At his suggestion, the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes and Dr. Berry paid a visit to Bournville while the Congress was sitting, and laid the position before George Cadbury. He agreed to

contribute £600 a year for five years, and his brother Richard undertook to do the same. George Cadbury continued his contribution up to his death, and after the decease of his brother Richard increased it from £600 to £900. This provision secured the movement from becoming a mere paper organization, and the vitality of the local federations bore witness to the wisdom of George Cadbury's stipulations as to the application of the money.

In the meantime the work of the Birmingham Council was being steadily developed in a variety of directions. The parochial idea which possessed George Cadbury so strongly was put into effective operation, and under its influence regular visitation became possible. He lost no opportunity of inculcating the parish idea as the basis of the co-operation of the Free Churches. In an address at the Free Church Council at Bristol in 1898, he said:

> Churches which are self-centred lose vitality, and decay. Just as an arm kept in a sling without exercise for a few weeks becomes emaciated and feeble, so these churches have become weak and lifeless for lack of work. Exercise is as needful for a church as for a limb. Idleness brings certain punishment upon a church as upon an individual. Can we wonder that there is a lack of spiritual life in the congregation and a lack of fire in the preacher when, week after week, his audience is composed of those already converted or of the gospel-hardened? Preacher and congregation are alike stimulated when every seat is occupied, especially when this results from having obeyed their Lord's command: "Go out into the highways and hedges and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled!" There is not the same life or joy when the building is filled by some popular preacher, who draws his audience from other places of worship; it is infinitely more

satisfactory when each church draws its congregation from its own parish, and when it consists largely of those who, without pastoral care and loving invitation, would have been outside any church. Some churches in every denomination have lost their first love, evidenced by the lack of desire to win souls, and also evidenced by their reiterating the cry, "I am of Paul and I am of Apollos." Man's test is a creed; Christ's test is love: "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another!" The unsaved multitudes apply this love to God, evidenced by love to men, to members of all churches alike, and manifest it by flocking to the church where it abounds, regardless of the denomination to which it belongs. . . .

Not only is time saved, but, whereas, without mutual agreement, the houses in a given district may be visited from three or four churches and another district neglected, under the parish method the energy is widely distributed and so better employed. . . .

Hundreds of thousands of the boys and girls belonging to our Sunday Schools are lost to our churches through not finding organized methodical work for them. Then, for lack of this very work, doubly blessed to him that gives as well as to him that receives, multitudes in our large towns, and even in our villages, never receive an invitation to a place of worship or to one of the institutions connected with it.

In urging the application of the parish idea to the work of the Free Churches, George Cadbury did not forget the children. He deplored the tendency of educational controversy to drift into narrow and embittered sectarian channels, and the neglect of the children at the most critical stage of their life seemed to him a grave menace to the future. The breakdown of the old apprenticeship system and the evil of "blind alley" employment for the young were nowhere more apparent than in Birmingham. He saw growing up around him a new generation equipped with some little

smattering of knowledge, but turned out into the streets while still children, and left without direction or discipline, to be exploited by an indifferent commercialism. There was no feature of the organization of the Bournville Works in which he was more concerned than the measures taken to correct this deplorable feature of modern industrialism. Those measures were designed to bridge the fatal gap between the elementary school and maturity; and they anticipated, and in a large degree influenced, subsequent political thought and action on this grave matter. But it was not enough that the problem should be attacked at Bournville. He aimed at attacking it in Birmingham and further afield, and he saw in the new movement of the Free Churches at least a temporary instrument for mitigating an evil which must eventually be dealt with by the State.[1] In his presidential address to the Birmingham churches in 1895 he laid emphasis on the neglect of the youth of the city, and urged each church to provide accommodation where, during the evenings of the week, the young might meet for social intercourse and recreation under sympathetic leadership. He himself undertook to make a yearly contribution for three years to each church in Birmingham that carried this scheme into effect. A committee was appointed to advise the churches in the matter, and to visit such clubs as were established, and report as to whether

[1] When the State did at last tackle seriously the problem of the health of the child life of the community, George Cadbury took an active interest in the work, an interest shared by Mrs. Cadbury, who was, from 1911 onwards, chairman of the Hygiene Committee of the Birmingham Education Committee.

they came within the scope of George Cadbury's offer.

In his concern for the young George Cadbury did not forget the case of the girls, and through his generosity the Free Church Girls' Guild movement was established, and with it the Women's Auxiliary of the National Free Church Council. This he practically financed alone from the first, but he financed it on one condition. "I have declined," he wrote on one occasion, "to support it if there is any antagonism to what the Anglican or any other church is doing, and Mrs. Benham has run it on these lines. 'The field is white already to harvest,' and our prayer should be that 'He will send forth more labourers into the harvest.' It would be most sinful to discourage any workers in this field whatever their creed may be."

Among his other activities in connexion with the Free Church Council movement was his work for the Three Counties Federation of Warwick, Worcester, and Stafford, of which he was honorary treasurer. In this Federation there were 1,102 places of worship, with 372 ministers, and about 1,000 lay preachers. For several years there was an annual gathering of the ministers and preachers with their wives at Northfield, where Mr. and Mrs. Cadbury entertained them. A huge tent was erected in which lunch and tea were provided, and devotional and business gatherings were held in the Barn. On these occasions addresses were given by leading Free Church ministers of various denominations, among them being Mr. Berry, Dr. Jowett, Dr. Monro Gibson, and Dr. Allen, a chairman of the Wesleyan Conference. At the

beginning of 1897, and in subsequent years, George Cadbury prepared a "New Year's Greeting" in the form of a booklet for distribution throughout the Federation. More than 300,000 copies were printed each year for this purpose at his own cost, and were distributed in the different parishes from door to door. But perhaps the most permanently useful service he performed for the Federation was the formation of libraries. He had, as has been stated elsewhere, few more constant sources of pleasure than the circulation of books of social or religious purport which seemed to him valuable and helpful. The recipients were usually those whose position enabled them to influence others on a large scale, and especially the poorer ministers, whose resources did not permit them to purchase many books that they might desire to have. When the Three Counties Federation was formed he resolved to deal with the book difficulty on a systematic plan. He established a central library at the headquarters in Birmingham. For this he purchased some 2,400 works on theological and allied subjects, selecting those which not only had the highest intrinsic value, but which also were likely to be out of the reach of the poorer ministers. This library, which George Cadbury kept up to date by an annual grant, and which was available for any minister in the Federation on payment of the return postage of the books borrowed, was controlled by a committee consisting of a Baptist, a Congregational, a Presbyterian and a Wesleyan minister. Connected with this central library he founded a dozen travelling libraries each containing thirty or forty volumes for circulation among the smaller district councils

of the Federation. As showing the success of George Cadbury's idea of the Free Church parish, Mr. Rutherford, the secretary of the Three Counties Federation, stated at a meeting in Sheffield in 1900 that at that date more than fifty councils, most of them in great towns, had already adopted the parochial system for house-to-house visitation.

But the new movement was not without its difficulties and dissensions. The most serious of these concerned the scope of the operations of the Free Church Council. George Cadbury's idea in promoting it had been that it should have purely spiritual functions, and that it should not stray into any paths which were merely political or controversial. This limitation was in practice difficult to observe, and many of the supporters of the movement frankly did not wish to observe it too rigidly. When a national issue arose involving moral questions or sectarian interests they wished the Council to take official action in organizing and influencing opinion. The tendency in this direction was powerful, and the temptation constant, and many even of those who favoured the original purpose of the Council found it hard on specific questions to separate an apparently political issue from its moral and spiritual implications. George Cadbury, however, was immovable on the subject, and again and again came into collision with the Council in regard to its attitude on public questions. He felt that if the Council departed from its purely spiritual functions and became involved in political controversies, it would not only lose its influence in the world but would sow the seeds of internal

disruption and disaster. At one period George Cadbury was on the point of severing his connexion with the Council altogether as the result of its participation in a political issue. This was during the bitter controversy aroused by the legislation on education during 1902 and 1903. That legislation stirred the Nonconformists of the country more deeply than any other episode of recent years. It was felt to be a deliberate attempt to establish Anglicanism in the publicly maintained schools. The effect was peculiarly unjust in what was known as the "single school areas," where the school to which the Nonconformist equally with the Anglican contributed, and to which he was compelled by law to send his children, was handed over to the control of the Church, which could exclude his own child from teaching where he had been taught, and could make the appointment of masters depend not upon scholastic capacity but upon doctrinal views. A storm of extreme violence broke out throughout the Nonconformist world, and passive resistance to the law was preached by Dr. Clifford and other Free Church leaders, and very widely adopted. In this crisis the National Free Church Council found it impossible to adhere to its self-denying ordinance. It was swept into the movement of revolt against what was felt to be a deliberate policy of re-establishing the Church in the common schools, and destroying the life of Nonconformity in the villages. George Cadbury found himself unable to stem the tide of feeling that overwhelmed the Council. He shared the indignation of Free Churchmen generally against

the policy of the Government, and politically took an active part in opposing it, endorsing to the fullest extent the attitude taken upon the subject by the *Daily News*, of which he had now become sole proprietor. But with characteristic tenacity he refused to alter his view in regard to the duty of the Council to keep aloof from politics, however urgent the case might be. In a letter to the Rev. F. B. Meyer he said:

GEORGE CADBURY *to* DR. F. B. MEYER

. . . I have from the first taken a deep interest in the spiritual work of the Free Church Council, but I shall have very seriously to consider whether it is right to continue to have any connexion with it. . . . Our ideal was that all the Free Churches should be brought into line, so that more might be done on behalf of national righteousness by giving each church its parish; united missions; help of village churches, etc.; and that though working separately we should be in co-operation with Anglicans and Roman Catholics in the endeavour to bring Christ's teaching to the vast majority of our fellow creatures who are outside all the churches. I believe wherever the Free Church Council has taken up political work, not only has the cause of religion grievously suffered but so has also the very cause that it has advocated. The cause of Christ has grievously suffered in connexion with the education controversy, and men have said, "See how these Christians hate each other," instead of "love each other." If Free Churchmen had taken up the education question, the temperance question, the peace question and every other question that verged on politics as *citizens* (not as Free Churchmen), they would have had vastly more influence in the country.

The crisis passed, and George Cadbury continued his connexion with the Council. He had the satisfaction of witnessing a strong reaction in the direction of his views when, on the death

of the Rev. Thomas Law, the Rev. F. B. Meyer succeeded him as secretary of the Council. It never achieved that absolute detachment from the political struggle that George Cadbury wished it to observe, but the spirit of detachment became more and more its prevailing note, and as years went by the Annual Congress increasingly reverted to the discussion of purely spiritual and social themes.





CHAPTER X

WOODBROOKE

George Cadbury's Early Innovations in Quaker Practice—The Bournville Meeting — Problems of Quakerism — John Wilhelm Rowntree—Foundation of Woodbrooke —Dr. Rendel Harris as Director of Studies—Extension of the Woodbrooke Idea in the Foundation of the other Selly Oak Colleges.

IN all the relations of life George Cadbury exercised a rare independence of thought. He was never a slave to convention, to formal theories or to accepted prejudices. His action was the expression of his own thought. It was based upon very simple principles, and was carried through with entire indifference to the criticisms of the external world. This reliance upon the

communion with himself, this entire freedom from the restraints of tradition was not only his inspiration in business and in politics; it governed equally his spiritual relationships. The frame of mind which made him a great organizer of business and a pioneer of social reform, made him also something of a rebel against convention within the sphere of church life. He was a Friend by conviction as well as by birth. In his own words be believed "that the fundamental principles of the Society of Friends were nearest to the teaching of Jesus Christ in their recognition of the spirituality of the Gospel dispensation, the non-necessity of outward ordinances, the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the freedom of the Gospel ministry, and the inconsistency of war with the teaching of Christ."

Religion was the ultimate concern of his life, and business and politics were only instruments to be used in its service. As a boy he used to carry a Bible in his pocket and learn Scripture by heart as he walked along the road. His intimacy with the Bible was extraordinary. It was the one literature that really appealed to him. Imaginative work, whether poetry or fiction, was outside his intellectual interest, and apart from the Bible his reading was limited to works on social or religious subjects, books dealing with housing or foreign missions, the opium question in China, or the drink question at home. To the end, however, the Bible was his constant inspiration. Its language was always on his lips, and he used it with a naturalness and felicity that made it seem the proper medium of his thought. The speech of Isaiah fell as inevitably from him as the current

idiom falls from the lips of another. His attitude to the Bible was that of a simple and untroubled mind, respectful to and thankful for criticism, but untouched by it himself. The Bible was his counsellor and consolation. Its language had a mystical application to the most immediate and minute affairs of his life, and in all emergencies he turned to it for comfort or guidance. Like Wesley, his faith was sometimes suddenly lit by a stray verse upon which his eye happened to fall, and if he conceived that that illumination directed one course, while secular opinion advocated another, he was in no doubt as to which to follow.

But combined with this unquestioning personal attitude was a singularly unfettered habit of mind in regard to methods, formularies, and traditions of worship. He was always as it were an outrider of Quakerism, faithful to its spirit but distrustful of forms which were outworn. This distrust manifested itself early in life. "When I was a young man," he said, "the test of good Friends was whether they wore the peculiar garb, and used the plain language. They were asked, 'Wilt thou bear witness to plainness of speech by using "thee" and "thou"? Wilt thou testify to plainness of apparel by taking the collar off thy coat? Wilt thou bear witness against heathen names by calling the days of the week First day, Second day, and so on?' It was all for the letter which kills. At first I followed the tradition of my fathers, and had a coat made of the very straightest and most old-fashioned type, but I was very soon brought to see the danger of any outward forms of this kind. They were so very easily assumed, and I knew of many who adopted them

so that they might be admitted into the Society, especially those with large families who wished to have their children cheaply educated at the Friends' boarding schools. Careful observation showed me that such members of a church were a source of weakness rather than of strength." He early gave up the distinctive dress, and, though in his family he continued to use the "thee" and "thou," he did not employ the "plain language" in the ordinary relations of life.

In the same way the experience of his young days caused him to doubt the adequacy of the Friends' methods of worship. When four or five years old he was taken to the Friends' Meeting in the morning, and a little later to the afternoon Meetings as well. As the Meeting House was a mile and a half away this involved six miles of walking, as his parents did not use any vehicle on the Sunday. "The afternoon Meetings," he said, "were often dull and heavy times, largely held in silence. The happiest experience was after Meeting, for my father made it a point to call at some of the dismal courts of Birmingham, and always took his little sons with him. In this way he gave us early sympathy with the poor. As I grew up and became interested in the young fellows in my adult class I found that the ordinary Meeting as held by Friends was not helpful to them. Some eight or ten joined the Society, and have been diligent workers in it ever since, but I was anxious that a larger number of those who attended no place of worship should be helped spiritually in other ways than by the adult class, and I held a small Meeting with such in the lower room at Severn Street British Schools, Birming-

ham, on Sunday evenings." This was the beginning of what was termed the Christian Society, whose first Meeting was held soon after in the room used by William White, one of the founders of the Adult School movement in Birmingham.

Another departure in practice marked the establishment in 1877 of a Meeting at a schoolroom in Bath Row, Edgbaston. This was the first of many new Meetings which George Cadbury was wholly or partly responsible for founding. Wherever he came to have interests a Meeting inevitably followed, and the remarkable development of Quakerism in the vicinity of Birmingham was due largely to his practical efforts as well as to what, for lack of a better word, one must call his "modernism." At the Bath Row Meeting freer forms of worship were introduced. At the City Meeting in Bull Street, for example, the public reading of the Bible was forbidden. At Bath Row this restriction was removed.

This temper of concession to modern needs became, contrary to general experience, more marked with advancing years. As he grew older he became more liberal in thought, both in politics and religion, and the Meetings he established reflected this development.

In 1880 the family had moved to Woodbrooke, near Selly Oak, and at first they drove into Birmingham to Meeting, but the use of the carriage on Sunday was always objectionable to him. There were then no Friends whatever living in the neighbourhood, but with his family he started a small gathering in a dining-hall that would accommodate about thirty people. During

some ten or twelve years the numbers increased slightly. At the end of that time the Meeting removed to a larger building erected by his brother and himself at Stirchley. Here the numbers soon increased, and from this Meeting sprang other Meetings at Selly Oak, Cotteridge, Hay Green, Northfield, etc., for most of which George Cadbury provided handsome buildings, which are used not only on the Sunday but on weekdays also. The Selly Oak Meeting House with its various class-rooms was used 2,200 times in one year for meetings of clubs and committees of all kinds connected with the village, and at Stirchley two large orders of friendly societies, one numbering 700 and another numbering 400, used the Meeting House instead of the public-house for the weekly payments, "thus," said George Cadbury, "saving probably large sums every week that had been spent before 'for the good of the house' at which the payments were made."

The last Meeting House built by George Cadbury was in the village of Bournville. This, however, was used only for worship. It was originally intended that its dimensions should be much smaller; but Mr. and Mrs. Cadbury followed the advice of the builder, an Anglican, who suggested that the back wall already ten feet high, should be demolished, and that the building should be made a third larger. Events justified the builder. In 1913, in commemoration of their silver wedding, Mr. and Mrs. Cadbury gave an organ, built by Harrison and Harrison, of Durham, to the Meeting House, a unique possession in the Society of Friends. The Meeting became the largest in the Society, except for those

which were swollen by the attendance of a Friends' Boarding School. This fact was largely due to the innovations which were introduced. George Cadbury had been the first to bring music into the Friends' Meetings in England, and at Bournville he went a step further by introducing the practice of opening the Meeting with a hymn. His motive in this case was partly a love for punctuality. He had in matters of time the instinct of the business man. He was impatient with all laxity, and the indefinite commencement of worship, he knew, encouraged late arrivals. The opening hymn was therefore not only a form of praise: it served a minatory purpose for incurable late comers. And if he liked promptitude at the commencement he appreciated it equally at the end. He wanted the service to be fresh and vital, and the worshipper who was moved to speak on the stroke of the hour for closing and who had much to say was pretty sure of a kindly hint afterwards. After the hymn came a portion of Scripture, and the Meeting then proceeded in the normal manner, in silent worship, preaching or prayer. George Cadbury, who was for many years an acknowledged minister, spoke frequently in Meeting, but always briefly and directly. He was a foe of the excessively long sermon, and held the view that the Free Churches lost ground by the practice of having too long prayers and too long a service.

His conviction as to the need of adapting forms of service to new conditions was expressed in a letter which he wrote to the Clerk of Meeting of Elders at the time of the establishment of the Bournville Meeting. In this letter he said:

I have rarely felt more responsibility and difficulty than in connexion with the new Meeting House at Bournville. It is painful in many country villages to see how the comparatively few worshippers are divided among many congregations, and all are weak and feeble and unable to accomplish the work that is needed. Probably it may be wise at first for Bournville Meeting to be entirely independent of the Society of Friends, as Stirchley was for so many years, so that we may feel our way. We may find that more elasticity is needed if we are to meet the needs of the many thoughtful and well-educated persons who live in the village.

I have, as you know, been increasingly convinced that each congregation should, to a very large extent, be at liberty to settle its own details as to arrangements, whilst adhering to the great underlying principles of the Society of Friends, and probably, if we are to build up a really strong and vigorous congregation, we shall at first at any rate have to allow it a large amount of liberty. I look at both Meetings as very interesting experiments, each in its own way, that may be extremely helpful to the future of the Society, but this will only be the case in so far as each congregation is to a large extent independent, and perhaps greater blessing will come because we do not clearly see our way and have "to walk by faith and not by sight."

This attitude of liberal experiment brought him in some measure into conflict with the old school of thought in the Society; but this passed away as it became apparent that his influence was giving a new impetus and vitality to Quakerism, and that freedom from the smaller conventions was consistent with unfaltering loyalty to the fundamental ideas of the Society. No one did more than he did to breathe new life into the movement. But anxious as he was to promote its influence he had no taste for proselytism, and set his face firmly against the use of enticements or the concession of privileges to those who joined

the Society or his adult classes. He was anxious not that people should become Quakers, but that they should become independent and self-respecting men and women. Any attempt to extract profit out of connexion with the body was promptly rebuked. "Do you want to ruin my class or the Meeting?" he would say. "If so the surest way is to let the impression prevail that material advantage results from joining it. This will keep away the independent minded people who are the backbone of any organization for spiritual work." "To give, not to get," he would say, "is the spirit of religion."

And while he opposed the idea of associating religion with personal gain, he equally disliked any appearance of ostentation in giving. "All equal are within the Church's gate," was a maxim that applied to the collection as well as to the spiritual atmosphere. It had been the custom of the Friends to raise money by personal collection. George Cadbury saw in the practice an objectionable discrimination between rich and poor where no discrimination should exist. A list headed with a large sum from a wealthy member and tailing off to half-a-crown a year from a labourer earning perhaps 20s. a week, seemed to him to bring in the element of social distinction. Accordingly he introduced at Bournville the practice of the weekly collection, which by making all gifts anonymous removed the possibility of invidious comparison.

It was characteristic of him that he took precautions to conceal the nature of his own gifts. He did not put gold into the plate as he passed it on entering the Meeting House. That might

have been attributed to him, and would have defeated his purpose. Moreover a goodly pile of half-crowns, shillings and sixpences was, he conceived, an encouragement to others to give freely. Accordingly, he dropped a handful of miscellaneous coins into the plate and passed on with the comfortable conviction that he had covered up his traces and given the collection a wholesome appearance of widespread and liberal giving. The innocent artifice was very typical of his attention to small matters. Everything he did was considered in regard to its probable effect. A merely casual action was almost impossible to him. This habit of invariable calculation was easily mistaken for the mark of a personally designing nature by those who saw him only superficially. It seemed that one who with his simplicity of bearing was discovered always to be acting with elaborate forethought must have an axe of his own to grind. But when one probed into the motives of his conduct one always found that the axe was never a private one, but always the instrument of some disinterested purpose.

It was with the idea of giving new stimulus to the Society of Friends and bringing it into more vital contact with the modern spirit of inquiry that George Cadbury founded the settlement at Woodbrooke. He, in common with other members of the Society, had long been concerned at the stagnation of the movement. That concern was expressed with characteristic force by John Bright when one of his sisters was "disowned" by the Society for marrying an outsider. "The Society may well not extend," he wrote. "It is withering to almost nothing. Its glorious

principles are made unsightly to the world. Its aspect is made repulsive. It keeps out multitudes by the imposition of tests and observances which can never be of real importance." From the middle of the nineteenth century there had set in a definite decline in the Society, and though this had been arrested by the close of the century the position was still only stationary. There was no appearance of a new and quickening spirit, and superficially at all events it seemed as if the Society had exhausted its mission and was in danger of justifying the criticism that it was "an hereditary social club of the spiritual élite." "Too many Friends were busy with vain genealogies," said Professor H. G. Wood in the *Old Woodbrooker's Magazine*, describing the condition out of which the settlement arose and to which it was opposed, "and birthright members seemed to be held together rather by a common history and a social bond than by a common spiritual task. Friends had earned the respect of outsiders by ceasing to be offensively aggressive, but this state of affairs could hardly be considered satisfactory. Had they no message for the outside world or for the other branches of the Church? What did Quakerism really mean? Was its value exhausted? Here was a problem for thought, and some men realized that if Quakerism was to have a future its meaning and its message must be thought out afresh by the younger generation."

And side by side with this dissatisfaction at the spiritual torpor that had come over Quakerism, was disquietude at its divorce from the whole movement of modern thought and critical

inquiry. It was felt that if the ministry were to speak with authority and influence in the new times they must be equipped with the scientific thought which had become the commonplace of modern culture. "It was possible," said the writer already quoted, "to secure such a ministry in more ways than one. The pastoral system adopted in some parts of America is an attempt to settle the problem of an unsuitable ministry by providing a better. The English Friends, rightly or wrongly, felt that this solution imperilled some of the things that had contributed most to the life of the Society, and they aimed rather at stimulating a better ministry than at abandoning the spontaneity which had meant so much in the past. The need for studying the Bible by critical methods was felt not only in the ministry of the Meetings for worship but also in the Adult School and other educational work in which the Society was so largely engaged."

There was a third consideration which appealed to those who, like George Cadbury, believed religion had no meaning divorced from its social implications. The pressure of the problem of the condition of the people was forcing men to revise their conception of the task of the Church in the world. A new doctrine of social justice was permeating the thought of time. It tended to found itself upon a purely material basis, upon a reorganization of society which should abolish poverty and equalize the conditions of life. Improve the social structure, and the individual will take care of himself was the view that widely prevailed. Against this view, or rather as a complement to this view, was the

conviction that the social problem was not simply or even chiefly a question of material conditions. At the bottom it was a spiritual problem and needed a spiritual solution. Social reform to be fundamental and lasting must be charged with a religious enthusiasm which should give life a loftier aim and a deeper significance than the mere satisfaction of personal wants. It was because he saw in the social energies of the Salvation Army this permeation of practical service with the idea of making men spiritually anew that George Cadbury had throughout been so enthusiastic and generous a supporter of that organization. Its dual basis seemed to him to offer the true solution of the social problem which called at once for material and spiritual remedies. For that solution present-day Quakerism seemed unfitted. He lost no opportunity of preaching revivalism among his co-religionists. He did so in unsparing language and sometimes not without an unexpected phrase of biting satire. Thus, speaking at the yearly meeting of the Friends in 1897, he said: "Bramwell Booth remarked to me last week that the aggressive spirit was most precious, but the most difficult to retain in any church. It has been lost to us as a church for over 100 years. We have dwelt too much on 'looking inward' instead of lifting up our eyes to behold the fields white already to harvest. We have behaved like some selfish invalid, constantly dwelling on our ailments and having the doctor to feel our pulse. Such invalids have often been cured when persuaded to forget themselves and think of others."

These reflections turned his mind to the

possibility of establishing a settlement which should infuse a new spirit and energy into the Society. The idea had taken root in other minds also, notably in that of John Wilhelm Rowntree, whose death somewhat later was a heavy loss not merely to the Society of Friends but to the interests of every enlightened human cause. Mr. Rowntree was, indeed, the true author of the idea, for it was he who founded the Summer School movement, which may be said to have been the seed of which Woodbrooke was the fruit. He had discussed the question of a settlement with Dr. Rendel Harris and Dr. Rufus M. Jones during a holiday in Switzerland, and it was to him that George Cadbury opened his mind as to the stagnation of the Society in a letter dated February 22nd, 1902, in which he said:

> The complete failure in the Society of Friends of drawing in large numbers of thoughtful men, and doing so small a share in the evangelization of the world has been a great discouragement to those of other churches who would have advocated a free gospel ministry. We have had the theory that every man and woman is to be a priest, and yet we have done nothing as a church to train them for that office. We have no ritual and depend more than any other church upon earnest thoughtful gospel addresses, and yet we have done nothing to encourage them.

When an idea took root in George Cadbury's mind it worked with extraordinary rapidity. At the time he was embarking on a great journalistic enterprise which was destined to absorb much of his future activity and to involve him in an atmosphere of political venom which was distasteful to him. But this fact did not check the swift

movement of his thought in regard to the reawakening of the Society whose advancement always had the first charge on his interest. "One morning while taking my usual ride on horseback before breakfast," he told the writer, "it was strongly impressed upon my mind that the house and gardens of Woodbrooke should be handed over to the Society of Friends as a college for men and women." Woodbrooke was endeared to him by many intimate memories. It was there that much of his early married life had been spent, and there that most of his children had been born. Since the removal of Mr. and Mrs. Cadbury to the Manor House a mile or so farther along the beautiful Bristol Road, Woodbrooke had been temporarily in other occupation; but in the new thought which had taken possession of him George Cadbury saw a way in which he could consecrate the old home to the permanent service of his ideals. His purpose was stimulated by the sense of his own limitations—limitations which he was accustomed to exaggerate. He often remarked how much more valuable his work as an Adult School teacher would have been if he had had a better equipment, and it was this deficiency in his own education that mainly inspired him in the new scheme. He himself stated the objects of the settlement as follows:



To provide a place where spiritual and intellectual stimulus, combined with experience in Christian social work can be obtained. In other words—to give to members of the Society of Friends an opportunity for more fully qualifying themselves spiritually, intellectually and

experimentally for the work to which, while still discharging the ordinary avocations of life, they have felt called by the Holy Spirit.

The success of the institution, it was realized, depended upon the appointment of its head, and this matter was the subject of grave thought during the ensuing year. John Wilhelm Rowntree had approached Dr. Rufus Jones on the subject. Dr. Jones had married a cousin of George Cadbury, and had done conspicuous work in the revival of the Society of Friends in the United States. In a letter to him dated May 13th, 1902, George Cadbury indicated his own sympathy with John Wilhelm's proposal. The letter throws an interesting light on the views George Cadbury held as to the guidance of the inner voice and its qualification by outward circumstance. He said:

GEORGE CADBURY *to* DR. RUFUS JONES

MY DEAR COUSIN,

. . . I have never felt at liberty personally to urge thy coming to England, as I know the important sphere that thou art occupying in the United States. I can truly say my only desire has been that thou might be rightly guided. What an unspeakable rest it is to us all to know assuredly that God still guides His people, that the promise is for each of us individually, "I will guide thee continually." We must not expect to hear any audible voice, and one has to be exceedingly careful not to follow one's own fancies and mistake them for the voice of God. I believe that we are led not only by His voice in the secret of our souls but also by the train of circumstances, and that God has given us common sense to use and to develop. . . . It is asking much, but I think you both know that my sole desire is to promote the hastening of the coming of that time "When He shall reign whose right it is," and my belief that Friends if they

are but faithful may do a work a thousand times greater in that direction than they are doing to-day. Thy attached cousin,

GEORGE CADBURY.

The final decision of Dr. Rufus Jones not to give up his work in the United States was a disappointment to George Cadbury. It was increased by the evidence of lack of sympathy with the movement on the part of some members of the Society. In a letter to John Wilhelm Rowntree on November 28th, 1902, he said:

GEORGE CADBURY *to* JOHN WILHELM ROWNTREE.

. . . I should fear that the idea was not of God if there were not many such difficulties and much opposition to be overcome, especially from Friends who love ease and comfort, and who do not like having their self-complacency disturbed. This was the case when the Society was founded, and, so far as one sees in the history of the church it has been so in every forward movement. Surely the state of the religious life of England to-day ought to convince Friends that they have a great part to perform, which now they are almost entirely neglecting. I trust thou wilt not feel discouraged, and that we shall not only hear but obey the command, "Speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward."

He expressed the same sense of the inertia of the Society in a letter on December 6th, to Mr. H. S. Newman, of Leominster, in which he said:

GEORGE CADBURY *to* MR. H. S. NEWMAN

. . . I rarely entered into any undertaking with such a sense of absolute and impenetrable darkness in front. The result is so entirely in God's hands, and there really seems no prospect of success unless He Himself orders it and manages it. Apparently a large majority would rather see the Society disappear than make any change. They blame the Friends in the Western States for adopting the Pastoral system, though they have probably followed the only pos-

sible course to save the Society. I believe our suggested plan is infinitely better and more on scriptural lines than the Pastoral system, to educate our young men and women to be "priests of God." God works by means in the natural order of His providence and not by miracles. We have lazily expected a miracle to do that which might have been done by prayerful thought, self-denial and care.

In the same letter he expressed his desire that such an appointment would be possible as would make Woodbrooke "a real Christian School of the prophets." In the meantime negotiations had been entered into with Dr. Rendel Harris, the distinguished orientalist and theologian. Dr. Rendel Harris had been offered the theological chair at the University of Leyden, in many ways a more attractive position than that of head of the college at Woodbrooke. He felt the latter, however, to have a superior claim upon his services, and finally accepted the invitation. His world-wide reputation as a Biblical scholar gave an unquestioned distinction to the new settlement. A significant evidence of this was furnished by the fact that within a short time some fifty clergy of the Dutch Church were at different periods among the students at Woodbrooke. Since Dr. Rendel Harris would not go to Leyden, Leyden came to him.

It is not the purpose here, even if it were possible, to estimate the measure of success which attended the foundation of Woodbrooke. It is enough to say that George Cadbury saw in this development the expression of his highest hopes. His desire had been that the freest air should blow through it, that its doors should be open to men and women of all denominations and of all

nationalities, that it should combine a spirit of reverent but frank inquiry with a practical devotion to social service, that it should provide a common ground where the things that divide should be forgotten and the things that unite should be cultivated. The experiment aroused a world-wide interest, and students came for varying courses not only from all parts of Great Britain, but also from America, Australia, Norway, Germany, France, Denmark, Switzerland and other lands. "One of the special charms of Woodbrooke," writes one who has lived there, "is its unity in diversity. You may meet there and be the better for meeting, pronounced evangelicals and the quietest of mystics, zealous missionaries and eager art students, university men and elementary learners, all perfectly free and unconstrained, yet all assimilated by the Apostle's Bond of Peace." The proximity of Woodbrooke to Birmingham was an important gain from the point of view of extending knowledge in regard to social service. All the gravest problems of society were at the gates of the settlement, and a multitude of experiments in social amelioration could be studied on a large scale. This applied especially to the Adult School movement which, largely owing to George Cadbury, had assumed a magnitude in the city achieved nowhere else. The possibilities of the movement could, indeed, hardly be realized without experience of its ramifications in Birmingham—its forty men's schools, its women's schools, children's schools and all the collateral activities springing from them. It is the union of practical service with religious inquiry—the attempt to associate social reform with a spiritual renascence—that is

the special contribution of Woodbrooke to the thought and effort of the time.

The spirit of the institution is as unconventional as it is catholic. It is not only that men and women of all races and creeds are gathered together under one roof for the pursuit of common ends ; it is that the methods of study are fresh and original. The lectures have the quality and intimacy of conversation classes in which lecturers and students together hammer out a subject, whether in religion or sociology, science or art, with absolute unrestraint and candour. Dr. Rendel Harris's own lectures were as famous as Ruskin's for their illuminating digressions. Someone has said that he might start with one of the Maccabean Psalms and, led by the discussion, end with old English folk-lore, with a reference to Jack in the Green, or St. George and the Dragon. The remark illustrates the tradition of free and unconstrained inquiry which was established by Dr. Rendel Harris and still pervades Woodbrooke under his successor, Mr. H. G. Wood, the present Director of Studies. Through all runs the spirit of reverence and human friendliness. At no time is this more apparent than in vacation, when the ordinary students are replaced by workers from the world—journalists, teachers, professional men and women of all sorts who come to Woodbrooke for its social intercourse, its concerts and its discussions, the recreations of the lake and the grounds, the excursions that are made to Stratford, Warwick and elsewhere, above all for the spiritual atmosphere that pervades the life of the place at all times.



There is no fixed period of tuition at this freest of institutions. Its aim is not to give diplomas or degrees, but to create an atmosphere that may permeate society and to spread its net as wide as the waters of humanity. For this purpose the fees are maintained at the lowest possible level, in order that the doors of the settlement may be open to those who have little as well as to those who have much. This fact, due to the endowment with which George Cadbury furnished the institution, has preserved for Woodbrooke that entire freedom from social as well as racial or creedal distinctions, and that fine sense of human equality that give it its unique character.

Around the nucleus of Woodbrooke there has developed a remarkable cluster of kindred growths. The first extension of Woodbrooke itself took place in 1907 when Mr. and Mrs. George Cadbury built a new house to supplement the original premises.. There are now two additional annexes to Woodbrooke, necessary for the accommodation of the growing body of students. The importance of Woodbrooke as a centre of humane and unsectarian culture was later enhanced by the establishment of West Hill, where Mr. G. H. Archibald carried into effect his scheme for reforming the methods of Sunday School teaching. For the purpose of this institution George Cadbury gave four acres of land in close proximity to Woodbrooke, and he contributed largely to the building fund which was mainly provided by his nephew and niece, Mr. and Mrs. Barrow Cadbury, who have been connected with the development of West Hill throughout. The breadth of the appeal of this institution may be gathered from

the fact that of the first 141 students, fifty were Congregationalists, twenty-one Friends, twenty-five Wesleyan Methodists, nineteen Baptists, and ten Church of England. The general atmosphere of West Hill, as of Woodbrooke, is in the region that lies beyond sectarian conflict. The revolution which has taken place in the Sunday Schools of all denominations in the last ten years owes much to the pioneer work done at West Hill. Mr. Archibald's scheme was based on the belief that the Sunday School must be in the hands of men and women specially trained for the work, that amateurism is as fatal in the Sunday School as in the day school. At West Hill men and women pursue the study of child psychology and teaching methods side by side with the study of the Bible. In their theological studies they have a further advantage by the affiliation of the College to Woodbrooke. After a course at West Hill they are qualified to take over a department of a Sunday School, whether kindergarten, junior, intermediate or senior, and to give instruction and advice to the young teachers in their department.

No less significant of the new spirit of which Woodbrooke was the germ, was the foundation in 1905 by the Board of the Friends' Missionary Association of a sister college at Kingsmead, near to Woodbrooke, but on the opposite side of the Bristol Road. Here there are students from all denominations, and the curriculum is arranged on the basis of the principles laid down at the great Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910. The missionary student is equipped for his work by the study of anthropology and non-Christian religions, of the history of Christian missions, and

of the language, history, ethnology and geography of the country in which his work is to lie. Continental, Asiatic and African as well as English students come to Kingsmead, and in connexion with the college there are also bungalows where missionaries on furlough can find a temporary home.

Following this came the foundation of Carey Hall, a united missionary training hostel for women. In the establishment of this movement three missionary societies, the London Missionary Society, the Baptist Zenana Mission, and the Women's Missionary Association of the Presbyterian Church of England, were associated. The hall was the gift of Miss Kemp, the sister of Lord Rochdale. At the opening of this hall, George Cadbury, who presided, stated the principles which governed all his aims. "'In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things charity.' The controversial bitterness of the past shows how few Christians then wore Christ's badge —'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.' The controversialists had the idea that one group held all the truth, and high walls were built round each. Fellowship in service alone tends to break down those walls." This movement was to him a symbol of the new spirit and hope of the future, the spirit which would raze false barriers and bring all into a common service not only in heathen lands, but at home. It was, too, a symbol of the equality of women with men in social and religious service—an equality admirably realized in the work of the Salvation Army—and it should be said in Quakerism itself. For the conception

of the spiritual equality of the sexes is one of the services rendered by the Society of Friends to the general community. The assertion of this equality has, as Mr. H. G. Wood has rightly said, "given a quiet strength to womanhood which has enabled Quaker women to discharge responsibilities from which most women shrink."

Of a different type is the college for working men known as Fircroft, founded in 1909, with which the name of Mr. George Cadbury, junr., is especially associated. Fircroft is under the direction of a committee on which the Workers' Educational Association, the Adult School, the Trade Union and the Co-operative movements are represented. The students take a one year's course in political and industrial history, economics and literature, approximating as nearly as possible to a university standard.

These five colleges,[1] known as the Selly Oak Colleges, are each independent, with their own Board of Management, but they are associated under a Central Council, separately endowed, which provides six professorial chairs serving all the colleges. There is, therefore, interchange and close co-operation. It was a natural development of this new type of settlement that in February, 1922, at Woodley Hill, a church should be opened under the joint auspices of seven religious denominations. For, in the large part that he played in this great foundation, George Cadbury was especially interested in giving form and substance to his aspirations for international understanding and good will and for Christian unity; and the

[1] Two more are now (1925) in contemplation.

latter of these required to be embodied in such an institution as the church at Weoley Hill.

Woodbrooke has proved to be the seed of a university of a new type, predominantly religious in character, a place where men and women can be prepared for social service of many kinds, in an atmosphere wider and freer than that of a denominational college. It also provides a retreat, a place of rest and refreshment and of study for workers in the many fields of religious and social work. In some degree the Selly Oak foundation is reminiscent of the medieval university, which drew students from all lands into the circle of a great teacher's influence ; in some degree it expresses the spirit of the Chautauqua and Northfield movements in America ; but it has qualities of its own, and it furnishes one of the earliest and the boldest attempts yet made to bring the university into the common life and to make it, not a ladder for personal ambitions, however worthy, but a channel for irrigating the soil of humanity with the waters of unselfish service. George Cadbury made many contributions to his time, but none more pregnant with possibilities than the encouragement he gave to the idea of which Selly Oak Colleges are the embodiment.





CHAPTER XI

THE "DAILY NEWS"

Purchase of Four Birmingham Papers—Jingoism and the South African War—Mr. Lloyd George and the *Daily News*—Mr. J. W. Wilson's Defection from Unionism—Purchase of Shares and eventually of Controlling Interest in the *Daily News*—Mr. Ritzema—Advocacy of Social Reform—The Sweated Industries Exhibition—A Religious Census of London—The Penrhyn Dispute—Racing News and Liquor Advertisements—Extension of the Paper under Mr. H. Cadbury and Mr. Crosfield—Purchase of the *Morning Leader* and the *Star*—Press Campaign against George Cadbury—Retirement from the *Daily News*—The Angola slavery issue.

THE Boer War diverted the current of George Cadbury's life into new channels. Hitherto, his activities had been confined to Birmingham, to his business, and to those social and religious causes which were the governing interests

of his whole career. Outside Birmingham he was known only to those who were engaged in philanthropic and religious work, and who had found in him a generous supporter and a pioneer of social ideas. His disposition throughout life had been to avoid publicity. This was due in part to a real modesty of mind. His convictions were strong and independent of all outside influence. They were the result neither of reading nor of conversation ; but of his direct contact with life, and his own quiet reflection upon that experience. But, while he was immovable on the large issues of conduct or principle, he was curiously self-depreciatory as to his own merits, and conscious of his intellectual limitations. In personal relationship he always gave the impression of one who took the lowest seat at the table quite instinctively. But it was not this humility of mind alone which kept him out of public affairs. It was the philosophy also of the business man. His aim was to get things done, and he held the view that you could always get things done if you would choose the right instrument and were indifferent as to who got the credit. Hence the unobserved, almost secret, manner of his activities.

But the career he had marked out for himself was destined to be changed in the later phases of his life. The episode of the Boer War, which made so profound a breach with the past in the life of the nation, served also to alter the quiet tenor of his days. He had always been strongly impressed with the power of the newspaper to mould opinion and to exercise influence for good or evil upon the life of the people. While he saw that a newspaper like any other business must

be conducted on business lines, he felt that its responsibilities differed from those of ordinary enterprise, and that its chief task should be not to make money, but to bring an enlightened and public-spirited criticism to bear upon affairs. It was with this object that in 1891 he bought a group of four weekly papers having a large circulation in the suburbs of Birmingham. His intention was that they should not be party organs, but that they should, as far as possible, focus the purposes of men of all creeds and parties whose aim was to raise the civic and moral standards of public life in Birmingham. The enterprise was a modest one, and was entirely successful. But he was not tempted to go further. His interests centred in Birmingham, and he had neither the desire for notoriety nor the wish to carve out for himself kingdoms in spheres unfamiliar to him.

The Boer War changed his purposes. The country was swept by a Jingo frenzy which was the natural culmination of the Imperialist revival of the 'nineties. That decade had been marked by a fever of speculation, and a great reaction in political thought. The figures of Barney Barnato and Whitaker Wright symbolized a time given up wholly to material aims. The nation marched to the strains of Mr. Rudyard Kipling's banjo, and the eyes of statesmen were turned from problems at home to vague ambitions abroad. When the war came it found the people an easy prey to the appeals of those who had engineered the Jameson Raid, and had worked for the conquest of the Transvaal.

Those designs were powerfully aided by the

attitude of the Press. In London the overwhelming voice of the newspapers was in favour of the war, and when the *Daily Chronicle* changed its front on the subject the opposition was almost without a hearing in the Metropolis. Mr. Lloyd George, who had come into prominence as the most active of the lieutenants of Campbell-Bannerman in his opposition to the war, saw that the struggle was hopeless without some more effective backing from the Press, and he entered into negotiations with the proprietors of the *Daily News* and set himself to organize a syndicate to purchase that paper.

Among those whom he approached was George Cadbury, who was known to be very strongly against the policy of the Government. His opposition was based not merely on his religious convictions in regard to war in the abstract, but also on his belief that the motives behind this war were wrong. He took the view that it was a mine-owners' war waged for financial interests, and that the public passion was being exploited in the cause of higher dividends and cheap labour. He was convinced that the future of South Africa depended upon Briton and Boer becoming united in a common patriotism, and in the midst of the war he wrote to Lord Rosebery appealing to him to use his influence to secure a friendly understanding. In the course of this letter he said:

GEORGE CADBURY *to the* EARL OF ROSEBERY

. . . The English and Dutch races must live amicably together side by side in South Africa, or it will always be a source of weakness to the Empire. Before this can be attained, compromise must again come in. The Dutch ele-

ment must not look for entire independence in the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, or anywhere else in South Africa, but some definite time must be fixed when they shall be placed in the same position as Canada, Australia, and our other self-governing Colonies, otherwise the war may drag on endangering the Empire to an extent of which you are one of the best judges.

As in the case of the Home Rule question, George Cadbury's attitude in regard to the circumstances that led up to the war and to the war itself was governed by his faith in the principle of self-government. It was one of those simple, fundamental beliefs which he applied to every problem that arose. The habit of his mind was to dismiss minor considerations, to turn a deaf ear to the appeals of the moment, and to the arguments of skilful advocates, and to rest his opinion upon what seemed to him the moral basis of a question. In this case he saw that the struggle had arisen from the claim of the Boer Government to control the mining industry, and he held that that claim was politically just, whether it was in the interest of the development of the industry or not. He deplored the passion that distorted the public mind on the subject, and indignantly repudiated the term "Pro-Boer," which was invented to prejudice those who opposed the war.

This feeling he expressed with unusual emphasis in the following letter to a member of Parliament, accompanying a cheque for a charity in which the latter was interested:

I take this opportunity of saying that I hope you will in future abstain from calling those who differ from you as to the causes that have led to the South African war "Pro-

Boers." According to my reading of history we have infinitely more reason for calling those who uphold and approve it "Pro-Jewish speculators." I am as honestly convinced that the war has been carried on on behalf of the speculators at Johannesburg, and that they are responsible for it, as you are convinced that the war was sought for by the Boers. I think such abuse must have been uttered without premeditation, and I do not intend that it shall interfere with my sympathy for the good work that you are doing, but I hope that the time will come when you will make an apology to your friends and neighbours such as myself who honestly differ from you in opinion, and whom you have unjustly accused of prejudice for another race. The probability is that they are really actuated by a sympathy for their own people which has a deeper and more reasonable basis than is possessed or even understood by those who abuse them.

It was no light thing at this time to oppose the war in any part of the country ; to oppose it at Birmingham was to place one's self outside the social pale. Joseph Chamberlain's dominion over the Midland city was still unchallenged. The records of modern politics contain no parallel to the sway which he had exercised for a generation over the great industrial community of Birmingham, and never was that influence more powerful than during the period of the war. George Cadbury, like his brother, had, as we have seen, broken away from Chamberlain on Home Rule, and the rupture was never healed. He preserved to the end a high respect for his capacity, was never heard even in times of the severest stress to speak of him with bitterness, and always handsomely recognized his services to Birmingham. But he had a deepening distrust of his political purposes, and an intense dislike of the ruthless suppression of anything like free opinion.

So strongly did George Cadbury feel the need that the public should be informed of the real facts about the origin and conduct of the war that he thought it his duty to take some action outside the Birmingham sphere. He was impressed by the fact that there was no morning paper between London and Sheffield that was not devoted to justifying the war and embittering feeling against the Boers. He had at this time no interest in any paper outside Birmingham, and no thought of acquiring one. But as a temporary expedient for a special emergency he arranged with the *Morning Leader* to pay for a special train to the north so that a paper which presented the views he held might be delivered early in such towns as Northampton, Birmingham, Leicester, Nottingham, and Sheffield.

He hesitated, however, to take the much more serious plunge which the acceptance of Mr. Lloyd George's proposal involved. He saw that it would mean a new departure in his career at a time when he was disposed to relax his wider activities and confine himself entirely to more intimate tasks. This disposition was increased by the recent death of his brother Richard, with whom he had been affectionately associated in business and family relationship all his life, and whose loss he felt keenly. Nevertheless, when he found that the scheme was in danger of falling through if he did not support it, he advanced the £20,000 required, and the paper was secured.

The change in the policy of the *Daily News* created a profound effect in the country. It gave a powerful impulse to the cause of peace, exposed the machinations of the mine-owners, and de-

nounced the "methods of barbarism," the evils of the concentration camps, and incidents like the execution of Scheepers. The spirit of Liberalism revived under its energetic and audacious leadership ; but, on the other hand, it awakened a bitter opposition in the dominant party, and it suffered disastrously on the advertising side. Firms which had had dealings with the paper for years shut their doors against its representatives. Its auction advertisements which had been a great source of income disappeared entirely, and this was only one illustration of the general boycott. Moreover, the conduct of a paper by a board of directors of various views drawn together hurriedly to meet an emergency was found to be impossible. Grave differences of opinion manifested themselves, and these were accentuated by the severe financial loss which had to be faced. There was no immediate hope of change in the prospects of the paper. The war still dragged on with its tale of concentration camps and farm burnings, and the public weariness revenged itself, not on those who were responsible for it and its record of incompetence, but on those who opposed it, and whose opposition was supposed to be a source of encouragement to the Boers. And first among the offenders was the *Daily News*. The resources of the syndicate were nearly exhausted, and if the paper was to survive some new basis for its continuance must be found.

The gravity of the position was increased by the decision of Mr. Thomasson of Bolton to assume no more financial responsibility in the matter.

This decision brought George Cadbury face to face with alternatives which were alike distasteful to him. He neither wished to assume new respon-

sibilities in regard to the paper, nor did he wish to see it pass into other hands and revert to its original attitude on the war. He suggested that the syndicate should be bought out by Mr. Thomasson in the interests of the latter's son, Mr. Franklin Thomasson, who subsequently started the *Tribune*, and who was not indisposed to take up the task. The proposal was declined, and George Cadbury was called upon to make a final decision to go out of the concern entirely or to become solely responsible for it. There was no one else in the syndicate who was at once disposed and in the position to assume so heavy a burden.

In a letter, dated December 20th, 1901, to Mr. C. P. Scott, the proprietor of the *Manchester Guardian*, with whom he had been in communication, he said:

GEORGE CADBURY *to* MR. C. P. SCOTT

Mr. Thomasson's letter set me very seriously thinking this morning. Of course my personal comfort would be served by selling out my shares and getting out of the concern for which, as far as I can see as a man of business, there is little or no chance of success, and I believe that we could sell the paper just at the present time to those who are strongly supporting the war; we have had one or two intimations that such would be possible, but this seems to me a terrible responsibility, as the *Daily News* ought to be a power for peace in the South of England as the *Manchester Guardian* is in the North. I remember when a newspaper was started in Birmingham to oppose the *Daily Post* the late Sir John Jaffray pooh-poohed it, saying that there was no chance of a board of directors competing with personal management, and I believe the only chance for the *Daily News* would be for one individual practically to have unlimited control. It is a tremendous responsibility, but I am not sure whether it is not my duty to endeavour to effect this.

"I shrank at my time of life," he wrote a little later to T. E. Ellis, M.P., "from taking up so heavy a responsibility, but I was led into it step by step. . . . I believed that Mr. Thomasson was perfectly right, and that when the war was over our difficulties would begin. Our directors were evidently not agreed on social and political questions, and how was it possible to run a paper successfully unless it came out definitely on matters such as these?" Convinced that it was his duty to undertake the task, and satisfied that to make it successful he must leave the management in a single competent control, he entered into negotiations with Mr. Thomas Purvis Ritzema, a North country journalist who had had considerable newspaper successes at Middlesbrough and Blackburn. George Cadbury found in Mr. Ritzema a man in strong sympathy with his own social ideas, above all a keen land and housing reformer, and having bought out the syndicate, he committed the whole business conduct of the paper to his charge, the editorship being placed in the hands of the writer of this book. Mr. Ritzema had the sanguine temper of the idealist, and outstripped George Cadbury in his desire to make the paper an influence on very stringent moral lines. George Cadbury very readily fell in with his point of view. He had taken up the business as a duty, and had no intention of benefiting financially from it, even if the results were satisfactory. It was his determination not to take any profits which might come from the paper, but to devote them to the schemes in which he was interested.

Altogether, apart from the war, the task which George Cadbury had undertaken was an

extraordinarily difficult one. He faced it with characteristic courage and tenacity. He spared no money in his determination to restore the fortunes of the paper, now at a very low ebb. It was enlarged to sixteen pages, new machinery was installed, the building was remodelled, the whole administration overhauled. The results, so far as circulation was concerned, were entirely satisfactory. The sale of the paper, which had fallen to 30,000 during the war, was raised to 80,000. Its influence was correspondingly increased. It became the vehicle in the press of the new spirit of social reform which was soon to change the current of politics. With the end of the war, and the disillusion that followed, public opinion had undergone a great change. The jingoism of the 'nineties was displaced by an eager concern about the condition of the people, on which the results of such inquiries as those of Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree had thrown a searching light. Chamberlain sought to divert the public mind by reviving the demand for Protection under the name of "Tariff Reform," but the attempt failed, and the movement of opinion, influenced by the *Daily News*, went steadily in the direction of great social changes. The paper was engaged not only in resisting the new fiscal policy, the adoption of Chinese labour in South Africa, and the Licensing and Education Bills of Mr. Balfour's Government, but in developing a constructive policy in view of the inevitable return of the Liberals to power. Three aspects of this policy in particular appealed to George Cadbury—the advocacy of old age pensions, the development of small holdings on a large scale, and the suppression of sweating.

They were subjects to which he had devoted life-long thought, and he rejoiced in the influence the *Daily News* gave him of bringing the facts as to the life of the poor home to the national conscience. If he shrank from the ordinary political struggle, he had no hesitation in identifying himself with these movements. He had borne nearly half the cost of the National Old Age Pensions League, and had fought against the proposal, favoured by Tory opinion, that the scheme should be made a contributory one. The League had been formed in the first instance at Browning Hall, and in unveiling a tablet put up there to commemorate the passage of the Act of 1908, George Cadbury gave his view of the extension of the Act which seemed to him desirable. He said:

> We want to see the whole scheme carried out—a shilling a day at *sixty* for every man and woman in England, from the Duke of Westminster downwards; only with this condition, that if the Duke wants his pension he must go to the post office and get it.
>
> If we asked for too much at once, in all human possibility we should have got nothing. Now it is for us to work downwards in the scale of age. There is no work in England so hard as that of the wife of the working man earning 20s. a week. She can never put aside the money for old age pensions, and yet she has earned it more than any man living.

On New Year's Day, 1909, Mr. and Mrs. Cadbury gave a series of tea-parties to 6,000 old age pensioners belonging to North Worcestershire to celebrate the triumph of the movement.

When the suggestion was made that the *Daily News* should organize an exhibition of sweated industries, George Cadbury undertook to pay the

whole cost. That exhibition was limited to the exposure of the wretched wages paid to the home-worker, not that there were not many factories where low wages prevailed, but because it was feared that no practical results would be assured if the net was spread too wide. It was explained that the exposure did not necessarily cast a slur on the ultimate employer, but that it was the result of a system by which the work was handed out through a series of middlemen. Turning over the leaves of the illustrated edition of the catalogue of that exhibition to-day it is difficult to believe that it was compiled so short a time ago as May, 1906. Button roses made at 1s. 4d. a gross, with buds thrown in ; Parma Violets at 7d. a gross ; cardboard boxes at a wage which worked out at 1s. 3d. for twelve hours ; hook and eye carding at 1s. 4d. for 384 hooks and 384 eyes ; shirt-making by the piece for which wages came out at less than a penny an hour ; sack-repairing which yielded 2s. a week, full work, the maximum sum for a quick worker coming out at about 6s. ; a heavy day's work of eleven hours at chain-making which gave an average wage of 6s. to 8s. a week ; match and tack boxes at 2½d. per gross ; these were samples of the kind of prices paid. The exhibition was held at Queen's Hall, and remained open from May 2nd to June 13th. The workers earning these wretched wages sat there plying their trades at a pace which left no illusion that slackness could be the cause of the smallness of the weekly wage. Princess Henry of Battenberg opened the exhibition, which was visited by many thousands of all ranks, from Princess May of Teck (Queen Mary) downwards.

The effect was deep and lasting. The national conscience was awakened, and the ordinary consumer began to realize that tolerance of the system under which such wages were possible was a crime. Employers of labour were startled in many cases to learn what the system of contracting and sub-contracting really meant. Out of the exhibition emerged the Anti-Sweating League, and a Bill, founded on Sir Charles Dilke's proposal, for a minimum wage in sweated industries was adopted by the League. This Bill became law under the title of the Trade Boards Act. It applied the principle of the minimum wage to three or four specified sweated industries, and the success of the measure has since led to the extension of the Trade Board system to a great number of industries in which the workers were too ill-organized for ordinary trade union action. Not less influencial was the campaign which the *Daily News* conducted for compulsory powers for the establishment of small holdings, which bore fruit in the Act of 1907.

But apart from questions of policy the paper associated itself very powerfully with social and industrial interests of various kinds. It became a vehicle not merely of opinion but of action. Its first great undertaking of this kind was a religious census of London. This was carried through at George Cadbury's cost and at his inspiration. He was anxious to supplement the investigations of Charles Booth into the social life of London by exact data as to the religious tendencies of the time. The results of the census, which appeared in a monumental book edited by Mr. Mudie Smith, created a deep impression and

supplied the churches with valuable knowledge and stimulus.

Another event in connexion with which the *Daily News* played a conspicuous part was the Bethesda strike. It is not necessary here to enter into the merits of that great struggle. It was the culmination of a long period of irritation in the relations between Lord Penrhyn and his work-people. Like Sir Anthony Absolute, Lord Penrhyn was an amiable man when he had his own way ; but he was despotic in his conception of the rights of ownership, and was prepared to suffer any loss rather than yield to the men. On their side the men were equally stiff and uncompromising. For more than a year the village that lies at the entrance to the wild Frangeon Valley was the scene of a tragedy without parallel in British industry. It was like a city under a siege. Its resources were dependent entirely on the great quarry, and with these resources withdrawn it had no means of existence except what could be raised outside. The *Daily News* opened a fund and formed a committee in London. Through this fund and the efforts of the Bethesda Choir, which toured the country, something like £30,000 was raised. Meanwhile the *Daily News* carried on a campaign in favour of arbitration. But Lord Penrhyn rejected the intervention of the Board of Trade, and the Government of the day took no steps to bring about a compromise. The struggle only ended with the complete exhaustion of the men and the destruction of their union. Later on Lord Penrhyn brought an action for libel against Mr. W. J. Parry, one of the local supporters of the men, who had charged him with

"tyranny." He secured a verdict which involved Mr. Parry in damages and costs amounting to £2,500. Distraint was threatened, and Mr. Parry's public career seemed at an end unless he could raise the money within a few days. He made an appeal to the *Daily News*, which promptly opened a fund on his behalf, and the necessary sum was raised in three or four days.

In such enterprises George Cadbury took a deep interest, and to all of them he gave generously and unobtrusively. The work which the paper was doing politically and practically was very gratifying to him, and at no moment did he regret having assumed so heavy a responsibility. But the financial position was increasingly unsatisfactory. The enlargement of the paper had added substantially to the cost of production, while, on the other hand, the disastrous effects of the war on its advertising showed no signs of passing away. The loss, so far from diminishing, grew steadily more formidable. It became doubtful whether, in face of the competition of the halfpenny papers, the fortunes of the *Daily News* could be re-established on a penny basis. On questions of this sort George Cadbury still relied entirely on the judgment of Mr. Ritzema, and when the latter came to the conclusion that the future of the *Daily News* must be with the halfpenny press he readily acquiesced. The change, which was concident with a similar change in the *Daily Chronicle*, was made promptly and successfully in spite of great mechanical difficulties. The result was a large increase in the circulation of the paper and wide extension of its influence. But financially the change worked no improvement. Already he

had sunk a great fortune in the paper, and his benefactions in other directions had diminished in consequence, for although in the possession of a large income from his business, he had never accumulated vast wealth, having proceeded upon the principle of spending his money upon the causes in which he was interested during his own lifetime. Post mortem generosity did not appeal to him. He could, of course, have sold the property ; but it would have meant the transfer of its political influence to interests with which he did not sympathize, and he took the view throughout that his money was better spent in moving public opinion in the direction of social reform than in any other cause.

In spite, therefore, of the heavy drain on his purse he decided to continue the work, transferring the management to his third son, Henry Tylor Cadbury, and embarking on the experiment of printing the paper in Manchester as well as in London. In this way the paper was brought within reach of the whole country from Cornwall to Aberdeen in time for the breakfast table. The result was a further very large increase in the circulation, but the cost of production was proportionately increased, and the loss showed no diminution.

The struggle had now become the dominating concern of George Cadbury's life. He had entered into it unwillingly, and it had brought him nothing but financial loss and personal abuse. He became the target for the attacks of all who hated the new social policy pursued by the Liberal Government after its return to power in 1906. That policy had been advocated and made possible largely by

the influence of the *Daily News*, and its opponents struck at George Cadbury as the most effective way of attacking his paper. But the more he was slandered, the more he became convinced that it was his duty to continue the struggle. He was conscious that he had no personal aims to further, and was satisfied that the policy of the Government was right, and that in supporting it he was doing the best service to his country that lay in his power. He had never looked for rewards, and he accepted the scourgings as an inevitable consequence of interfering with social wrong. "If I spent my money on deer forests and personal splendour," he would say laughingly, "I should be a very good fellow, and have a very good time, but because I spend it in ways that I think will help to drive misery and wrong out of the world, I am a humbug and a hypocrite. Well, it's always been so, and always will be so."

So far from giving up the struggle he, in 1910, engaged more deeply in it, purchasing from the Rowntree family the *Morning Leader* and *The Star*, and amalgamating the former with the *Daily News*. But his own personal activities in connexion with the business ceased. He was now well over seventy, and though physically alert he was no longer fitted to bear the mental stress which problems of conduct always gave him. He therefore transferred his interests and the control of the papers to a group of trustees of which his eldest son, Edward Cadbury, was Chairman. In the Trust Deed which he caused to be drawn up for the transfer of his interest in the papers, the bulk of the shares were disposed of so as to provide that the policy of the papers should, as far as

was humanly possible, be maintained on the lines which he approved, and that the profits that might accrue should be applied to certain specified purposes in which he was interested. Accompany the deed of the new *Daily News* trust, which embodied his intentions, were the memoranda, in the course of which he said:

"Much of current philanthropic effort is directed to remedying the more superficial evils. I earnestly desire that the *Daily News* Trust may be of service in assisting those who are seeking to remove their underlying causes. To this end if the funds permitted, it would be in accordance with my wish that the Trust should control, by purchase or otherwise, other newspapers, conducting them not with a primary view to profit but with the object of influencing public thought in channels all of which appeal to me—though possibly they may not appeal to the trustees, and if this should be the case in any instance then the trustees will be at liberty to follow their own conscientious convictions. For example, I am an advocate of the taxation of land values, of the appropriation by the nation of unearned increment, and of such alteration in the land laws as would increase the number of small holdings; of cutting down military expenditure which presses so heavily on the poor of all countries; of relieving the labourer from all taxation for military purposes, and placing such taxation on the wealthy; of promoting such legislation as would tend to improve the lot of the poor and lessen the opportunities for the accumulation of wealth in a few hands; of the gradual acquisition by the State of all minerals below the surface, also of all

monopolies that can be better administered by the community for the benefit of all. Circumstances change, but the spirit of Christ's teaching is unchangeable. 'The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life.'

"I hope that those who have the administration of this Trust will enter into fields of social service which they may consider more important than those indicated, and that none of the objects which I have enumerated, and which under present social conditions appear to be of paramount importance should be pursued after the trustees consider they have ceased to be vital to the interests of the community.

"I have been an Adult School teacher for fifty years, which shows my conviction that all real reform must begin with the individual, but it has also convinced me of the necessity for progressive legislation. It is impossible to foresee the future, and it therefore seems best for the Trust to terminate at the end of twenty-one years. It will be for the then trustees to decide whether to renew the Trust on similar lines, or to hand over the value of the shares to the Bournville Village Trust, which was founded to improve housing conditions, or use it for some other purpose which the trustees unanimously consider more useful in the interests of humanity."

In forwarding a copy of the memorandum to each of the sons who were concerned with the future of the paper as trustees, he wrote as follows:

My dear Son,

I should like you to keep this letter and the memorandum accompanying the Trust Deed with the certificate I

have presented to you of shares in the *Daily News* and *Leader* and *Star*. When I took over the *Daily News* in 1901, only about 39,000 were published per day, and ten years of strenuous work have brought it up to its present circulation. During the first seven years of loss, struggle and disappointment I had the loyal help of Mr. A. G. Gardiner, and in addition I have had during the last six years the help of Edward, and Henry's help during the last four years, without which I should have given up the conflict as apparently hopeless, as my physical powers were beginning to fail.

I want you to know that the money that I have invested in these papers would otherwise have been given to charities. I had a profound conviction that money spent on charities was of infinitely less value than money spent in trying to arouse my fellow countrymen to the necessity for measures to ameliorate the condition of the poor, forsaken and downtrodden masses which can be done most effectively by a great newspaper. This will no doubt make you feel some responsibility as to how dividends from these shares, if there be any, should be spent, though they will be absolutely your own to spend as you like.

If you champion the cause of the poor who cannot do anything to recompense you, you must expect savage attacks from those whose interests may be affected. I have been bitterly attacked in society papers, also on the other hand by anarchists who desire a violent revolution, and who know that progressive legislation will make this impossible. These articles were written by those who knew nothing of me personally, but who attacked the *Daily News* through me, knowing that I was the owner of the paper—I do not feel any bitterness towards the writers, as it is only what every man may expect who endeavours conscientiously to do his duty as a public man.

Now in the evening of life, I can look back with intense joy and satisfaction to the expenditure of time, energy and money on these newspapers, which have never brought me anything in return, and can joyfully say with Rutherford :

"I've wrestled on toward heaven.
'Gainst storm, and wind and tide ;
Now like a weary traveller
That leaneth on his guide,

Amid the shades of evening,
While sinks life's lingering sand,
I hail the glory dawning,
From Immanuel's land."

Your attached Father,
(Signed) GEORGE CADBURY.

This letter was the formal farewell to the enterprise into which he had entered ten years before, at what he conceived to be the dictates of duty. With the amalgamation of the two morning papers, under circumstances which seemed to assure success, he felt a new chapter was being opened in which he could play no serviceable part.

It was his association with the *Daily News* which explained the extraordinary calumny to which he was subjected in connexion with the Angola slave trade. Briefly stated, the allegation was that while Messrs. Cadbury Bros. pursued a humane and enlightened policy towards their own workpeople at Bournville they acquiesced in, and profited by, a system which amounted to slavery on the Portuguese plantations in San Thomé and Principe, off the Angola coast of Africa, from whence part of their supply of raw material was brought. The simple facts of the matter were in direct contradiction to this calumny. So far from acquiescing in the slavery system the Cadbury firm had been throughout the most active workers for the suppression of slavery in Angola. It was in 1901 that rumours of the virtual slavery in practice reached them, and on their own initiative they had sent out a representative to investigate the facts, had, with other cocoa firms, organized protests through the British Foreign

Office to the Portuguese Government, had enlisted the interest of American manufacturers, had proposed a boycott of the product of forced labour, and through Mr. W. A. Cadbury had made repeated direct personal representations to the Portuguese Government to reform the system of labour in the cocoa islands. It was the report of Mr. Burtt, who had been sent out to investigate, which first disclosed the true nature of the horror. That report was presented to the Foreign Office and the cocoa manufacturers intimated to the Portuguese Government that unless they were prepared to stop the slave system they would cease to buy the San Thomé cocoa. This step was not taken at once, chiefly at the request of the British Foreign Office, which took the view that the influence of the firms in securing reform would be weakened by the withdrawal of their trade, and that the product of the system would simply be diverted into other channels.

In the face of these indisputable facts, the grossest allegations began to be made in certain newspapers against the firm of Cadbury. They culminated in an article in the *Standard* in September, 1908, in which the suggestion was made that the firm of Cadbury was profiting by, and indifferent to, the "monstrous trade in human flesh and blood against which the Quaker and Radical ancestors of Mr. Cadbury thundered in the better days of England." So gross a charge could not be allowed to pass unchallenged. A libel action was brought against the *Standard*, and was heard at the Birmingham Assizes before Mr. Justice Pickford in December, 1909. There could, of course, be only one verdict, but to the amaze-

ment both of the public and the Press the jury awarded only a farthing damages. Both the *Birmingham Daily Post* and the *Birmingham Daily Mail,* though politically opposed to George Cadbury, commented on the dishonour inflicted on the name of Birmingham juries by "so utterly inconsistent and inexplicable" an award. It only remains to say that nearly ten years afterwards the British Government issued a White Paper informing the world that substantial improvement had been effected in the conditions of the Angola labour supply, and that no further boycott of the cocoa was advisable. The Cadbury firm, however, while acknowledging the reforms, pointed out that so long as the general death-rate was 10%, and the death-rate of the children greatly in excess of that figure, they would not agree to draw any supplies from San Thomé and Principe.





CHAPTER XII

HOME LIFE

His Habits—Life at the Manor—Wind's Point—Family Traits—His Letters—Illness and Recovery.

THE years which followed the transfer of the *Daily News* to other hands were probably the happiest of George Cadbury's life. He had played his part on the general stage, and was content to leave the judgment on his career to the working out of events. His retirement from the *Daily News* did not silence the personal attacks on him in certain Conservative journals. His customary comment on those attacks was that they showed that his work had not been entirely profitless, and that those who set out to do anything for the public must expect the disapproval of vested interests. The routine of his life was unaltered.

Always a man of regular habits, the movements of his day were almost as punctual as the sun. The practice of early rising, learned in the days when his father used to take him and his dog for an early morning walk, was never discontinued. At home or abroad he was up with the lark, and he used to tell with an innocent pride how, on the occasion of a visit to Egypt, he alone was out beyond the Pyramids in the early morning when the air blew fresh and cool across the desert, and the beauty of the scene was at its perfection. His ordinary exercise at the Manor House was a ride on horseback.

Since his childhood, when he and his brother used to scour the country on their ponies, he had never lost his love of riding, and he used to say that he found in the motion not only a physical exercise but a stimulus to thought. He certainly found in it a specific against that common complaint, the depression of the breakfast table. He came to the table with the sense of fresh air and cheerfulness that cleared away the early morning chill of his guests.

Breakfast over he led the way into the large "Oak Room" for family prayers, which were attended by all those employed within the house. The service opened with a hymn which was accompanied by Mrs. Cadbury on the organ. Then George Cadbury read a passage from the Bible, after which there was silent prayer, broken occasionally by a spoken prayer which pursued the train of thought awakened by the reading. The service over, the household dispersed to its duties or pleasures, and George Cadbury mounted his bicycle and rode to the works at Bournville,

nearly two miles distant. Here he spent his morning with his secretary, dealing with his enormous correspondence, and with his duties as chairman of Cadbury Brothers. Like his brother, he cultivated the most businesslike and unfailing promptness in answering letters. His method was the antithesis of that of Napoleon, who left his letters unopened for a fortnight, and then was rejoiced to find how many had answered themselves in the meanwhile. There was no correspondent too insignificant, and no subject too trivial to be entitled to an answer by return of post. He might evade an inconvenient or foolish request by the terms of his reply, but he never evaded it by ignoring it. He had constructed a seven-hole golf links in the fields near Manor House, and here he played almost daily, until the war led to the course being given up on account of the labour it involved. His old enthusiasm for cricket was transferred to the Scottish game, and when one of his sons told him he was taking lessons, he, although then in his seventy-second year, resolved to take lessons too. The game appealed to him not only as a physical recreation, but as a moral tonic, and to carry his own clubs was a part of the regimen of the links. He was too keenly opposed to "blind alley" employment to encourage what he regarded as the mischievous calling of the caddie, apart from which the habit of being independent of others in the small personal details of life was a part of his moral discipline. In the afternoon he returned from the works, and often visited the holiday makers who were being entertained at the Barn before joining his family and the guests at dinner.

It was rare that he was without visitors. They included all sorts and conditions of men and women, and few visitors' books contained a more various assortment of names than that at the Manor. For the most part they consisted of politicians and social and religious workers, not from England only, but from the Continent and America. Anglican divines were as frequent as Nonconformist ministers, and Conservative peers as Labour Leaders. A welcome was extended to anyone who was interested in any phase of the experimental work at Bournville, and if they had the power to extend the influence of that work their welcome was so much the warmer.

The day closed with a quiet walk under the stars. This walk George Cadbury preferred to take alone. It was his hour for taking stock of the day, for retreat from the world, for listening to that inner voice which played so large a part in the governance of his actions. "There is nothing like a walk in the evening to make one realize the presence of God," he once said in a speech at Bournville :

> "My Saviour comes and walks with me,
> And sweet communion here have we ;
> He gently leads me by the hand,
> For this is heaven's border land."

If he had a companion on these occasions he did not encourage talk. He would lead the way to some quiet arbour or seat overlooking the landscape and fall into "a wise passiveness," which was not so much a reverie—for he was never introspective—as a state of listening and exaltation.

Not the least absorbing of his domestic concerns was his farm. He had always taken a very practical interest in agriculture, and both at Woodbrooke and the Manor carried on experimental farming. The home farm at the Manor developed into a considerable enterprise, and George Cadbury took hardly less interest in demonstrating the effect of good conditions on the health and productiveness of cattle than he did in the influence of environment on workpeople. His cattle sheds and pigsties were models of sanitation and common sense as applied to farming, and he delighted to prove how profitable good methods could be made. For the farm was not a hobby. It, too, was an object lesson, and its value lay in conducting it on strict business principles. The conduct of the farm passed ultimately into the hands of Mrs. Cadbury — or perhaps it would be more correct to say that it became a joint concern.



In that it was like so many of George Cadbury's interests. He and his wife departmentalized their activities very carefully, but they worked in the same field and in the same spirit. Mrs. Cadbury had brought into the home musical and literary interests which were outside the concentrated purpose of her husband ; but she brought also a large capacity for affairs and a social enthusiasm hardly less than his own. Together they were active not merely in every development connected with the village, but in all movements associated with the wider life of Birmingham. As has been said, Mrs. Cadbury's work lay mainly among girls and women, and educational and

health work in the city. The Manor House became the centre of many of the social and religious activities connected with Birmingham. If Mr. and Mrs. Cadbury were not entertaining Sunday School children or cripples, Liberal Associations, or housing reformers from the Continent at their home, they were attending public meetings or social gatherings outside, or receiving deputations which had come from afar to investigate the experiments at Bournville. George Cadbury was a fluent and thoughtful speaker in any of these circumstances. He laid no claim to oratory, indeed never thought of speaking as an art. But he had something to say, and an easy, direct way of saying it, the result of fifty years' experience of talking to his adult class on a multitude of themes. Nor was his speaking without a certain beauty, due to the Biblical sources of his utterance and his instinct for natural things.

Thus, speaking of the motives behind Bournville he said: "The prophet foresaw the time when the Christian evangel should give beauty for ashes and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness. For the 'ashes' of the crowded tenement building, of the narrow and filthy court, of the mean street, of dreary lives and moral and physical deterioration, it is our joy to give our people the 'beauty' of God's open sky, the living green of the fields and the foliage, the scent of roses, the singing of birds, the divinely appointed recreative labour of tilling their own gardens, of the easy skilful, joyous use of their limbs."

Until his later years he travelled little, and was rarely absent from home for long. He had none

of that curiosity about strange places and strange peoples that constitutes so much of the attraction of travel.

> For to admire and for to see,
> For to behold the world so wide

was a feeling quite alien to his temperament, and he would have agreed with Thoreau that he could see as much of the wonders of the universe from his back garden as if he had travelled "beyond the paths of all the western stars." Nor had he the intellectual interests, the passion for pictures, or the antiquarian enthusiasm that make travel entertaining. Until advanced life, therefore, he was rarely abroad. He occasionally went to Germany, France, Italy, and Egypt, and on the occasion of his last visit to Switzerland in 1911 his family party of nine travelled round in an old-fashioned coach with four horses. His later winters were spent chiefly at Bordighera, where he stayed at the Villa Monte Verde. But there was one retreat to which he always retired with pleasure. This was Wind's Point, a house in the heart of the Malvern Hills, which is associated with another gracious personality. It was inhabited by Jenny Lind, and it was here that the "Swedish Nightingale" passed the last fifteen years of her saintly life, and it was here that she died. It is built after the fashion of a mountain chalet, with pretty gables and a rustic arcade of birchen pillars that runs on the western side of the house. The situation is one of unusual beauty. The house stands about four miles from Malvern, at the crown of the great road that marches up the hills from the rich Worcestershire country, and dips down into

the undulating pastures and woodlands of Herefordshire. At the rear of the house the grounds rise sharply through thick woods to the ridge that leads to Worcester Beacon. In front, Hereford Beacon, its brow scored by the deep trenches dug by the Britons two thousand years ago, where today the sheep graze peacefully over the scene of "old unhappy far-off things," lifts its lonely summit.

Around and below is one of the fairest scenes in these islands, plains of smiling plenty, with ribbons of road vanishing in the distance and the smoke of far-off trains hinting of the activities of the great world that seems so remote from this spacious peace ; the towers of Gloucester Cathedral to the south, Tewkesbury Abbey to the east ; ranges of hills on every horizon, the Lickey Hills that stand sentinel over the throbbing life of Birmingham, the Cotswolds that carry such a happy mingling of industry and agriculture in their deep valleys, the Black mountains looming up in Wales and through all the central scene the windings of the Severn till it broadens out and is lost in the waters of the Bristol Channel. And the scene is as historically interesting as it is picturesque. Apart from the memorials of the long past carved on Hereford Beacon there are other associations that give interest to the place. On the slopes of the hill below William Langland had the vision which is a landmark in social as well as literary annals, and near by, at Little Malvern, are the scenes of much of "John Inglesant."



In place of horse-riding George Cadbury's early morning exercise at Wind's Point was to climb Hereford Beacon, where the wind blows fresh and the air is keen and stimulating. With characteristic attention to detail, he took precautions that whoever went to Wind's Point for rest should get it and should have no temptation to cultivate late hours and town habits. The programme was to be up with the lark and to bed betimes. To secure the observance of this paternal law he called in the ingenuities of science. And so at ten o'clock, when you were perhaps settling down to an hour with a favourite book, you became aware that the electric light was fading—very slowly but quite inexorably. The process continued until you were compelled to light your candle and read by that or accept the gentle, but extremely firm, hint that it was time to be in bed at Wind's Point, whatever your habits might be elsewhere. If you made a protest to the amiable handyman of the household he would express deep and respectful sympathy, but would assure you that the supply of power was so arranged that its punctual subsidence at ten o'clock was as unalterable as the going down of the sun.

It was this care for you that made George Cadbury a little trying to disorderly people who loved freedom more than good habits. Life was systematized down to its smallest detail, and moved with the precision and calm of an eight-day clock. But though his own habits were rigid, his dislike of narrowness of view and Chadbandism kept him free from censoriousness, and he had a facility in turning a blind eye to habits he did not share, or of which he did not approve. The

life of the large family that grew up around him developed this trait. They brought home from the university or from foreign school or travel the breath of the modern world, and familiarized him with novelties that he tolerated if he did not cultivate. His relations with his children were extremely affectionate. He was firm in large matters of conduct, but left plenty of latitude in the lesser things. His enthusiasm for wholesome exercise led him to encourage his children to acquire proficiency in all games of outdoor skill, riding and driving, tennis and golf, swimming and rowing, and though he himself had no taste for shooting, and never carried a gun, he offered no opposition when one of his sons developed a taste for big-game hunting in Alaska, Mexico, and elsewhere. His tolerance of things he disliked did not extend to admitting alcohol to his table, and for a long time he refused to make any concessions to the weaker brethren in the matter of tobacco. But he came to the conclusion that this was an unwarrantable interference with liberty, and though he always regarded smoking as a dirty habit—which even the smoker will admit is a quite reasonable conviction—he provided a smoking-room for his guests, and came, I think, to like, in a vicarious way, the friendliness of a pipe. The strong filial instinct of the family preserved to him to the end the devotion and respect of his children, and his own letters to them when he or they were absent were full of those little intimate details of domestic life for which he had so quick an eye—the fate of some favourite animal, the latest novelty introduced by the gardener, the health of an old servant, and so on. A few extracts from these

voluminous journals which he circulated to his numerous family will serve to illustrate their character. The references in them are mainly to his children and grandchildren :

September 4th, 1911.

. . . Mother and I motored to Swanwick on Saturday. We found some 400 young Friends gathered there—a very jolly party. The surroundings are not specially pleasing, but the estate and the grounds are fine. There is a Hostel with separate cubicles for 200 women—the men sleep under tents. . . . .

October 16th, 1911.

. . . Poor old Hughes (a gardener) had what seemed very like a stroke on Saturday evening. He had been hurrying and went quite faint. He would soon die if he could not go on with the work he had followed all his life, so I tell Miss Cope he can come late and leave early, so long as he can manage the walk backwards and forwards. He, like the rest of the old men, is very fond of Ursula. There is something specially soothing to a man in advanced age in the presence of a little child.

The wedding of Isabel (his eldest daughter) to Kenneth Wilson draws near—Thursday week. I hope we shall all remember the bride and bridegroom in prayer that a blessing may rest upon them. They begin life with very pleasant prospects—a lovely home, and so far as one can see all that heart could wish.

November 2nd, 1911.

. . . We have had a very busy week in connexion with the City Council Elections. Laurence has done splendid work, being out practically every night canvassing for George (his second son), and I think he must feel quite bucked up at the result ; head of the poll.

All four of our motor-cars did some work. Ursula's horse, poor old Cedric, also was out in the cart, and one of the milk carts as well helping Quinney. Mother and I have both attended meetings, so the family has taken an active part. We are also glad that William is top of the poll at King's Norton.

November 5th, 1911.

. . . Mollie joined us at breakfast (from school)—she is one of the attractions to Malvern—and we, Ursula and Miss Stuart included, went to Meeting in the Lanchester. The wind was tremendous. F. Andrews gave a fine address. As we came out of Meeting and passed towards the road, a sudden squall blew down the wall of the garden on the left before entering the lane. Ursula, Mother and Mollie had passed under a minute before, I was half a minute behind them, so only just escaped. Poor little Arthur Cadbury was under it, and after being extricated, died in a few minutes, the little laddie being very terribly crushed. Mother and I took the motor-car at once to Worcester, and met Richard and Carrie coming from Meeting, called for the family doctor, and brought them back.

November 20th, 1911.

. . . I spent practically all Friday at Woodbrooke on the Woodbrooke Committees. The work has become more international and interdenominational, which I believe is infinitely better for the cause of progress that we have at heart and of true religion than narrow sectarianism, even though that sect be the Friends, who like every other body are apt to get into a narrow groove. . . .

Ursula seems all right again, and is the joy of the house. We had a remarkable address on Sunday morning from Tom Bryan on children—all the while I was thinking of her. Among other things he said what a blessing death was, because as we get old we are liable to be unprogressive and our place is taken by a new generation with new ideas and new thoughts, so the world quietly progresses through its young life.

October 22nd, 1913.

It has been a great year for blackberries—two or three of the family gathered 10 lb. weight in about half an hour.

We are ploughing the six-acre plot so that we can grow our own turnips.

You have no doubt seen the announcement of the death of Arthur Chamberlain. He has done a great work for Temperance, Free Trade, and Social Reform generally—a man of much courage to go against the strong public feeling in Birmingham on these questions.

November 19th, 1913.

On Tuesday morning I left St. Pancras at 9.15 for Cambridge. Between St. Pancras and Tottenham is a desolate region, long ugly rows of houses, built evidently without any plan, and a country that was beautiful twenty or thirty years ago entirely spoilt.

At Cambridge I jumped into a taxi and Bertie (Egbert Cadbury) met me at the Trinity College Great Gate. We walked across the Great Court into the next Court in which is the entrance to his lodgings. They are, I should think, the very best in Cambridge, because from his bedroom he has a through current of air between two large quiet courts, and his rooms are three stories high so that he gets well above the mist, which is very important as Cambridge lies so low. The sitting-room is a fine large room with oak panelling.

We had half an hour's chat and then walked across to see little George Bertram Crosfield (his grandson) at Madingley Road. He is a remarkably clever little fellow. He recognized and smiled at his Grandfather at once, and is evidently good friends with his big Uncle Bertie. He took my hand and led me up into the study where was his Noah's Ark, and Bertie took out the animals one by one and asked him their names, and he answered them all—one could hardly believe he was not quite two years old. He then took my hand and led me into his nursery, a very fine, sunny room.

December 2nd, 1913.

You have no doubt by this time read Laurence's very interesting letter, but we are wanting to receive more news and to know what he is likely to do for the next three months. (Laurence Cadbury was big-game hunting at the time.) Probably he will not be coming home. We received from him a fine bear's head a day or two ago. Ursula was greatly taken with it, but we got Barret at once to hang it over the mantelpiece in the Oak Room, so that it is out of harm's way. It is quite a benevolent-looking animal.

June 23rd, 1915.

We have made a start with our hay harvest ; it is almost impossible to secure men to help, so we are making as much use as we can of machinery. We have a machine

which puts the hay in long ridges ready for loading into the cart, one man and a horse do more work in this way than four men would do.

We have also bought a machine for milking cows—it milks four at a time, a man and a boy can in half an hour do the work that took three or four men one and a half hours, and it is very much cleaner than the old plan.

I often see young fellows out of the five hundred who have enlisted from the Works. They all say what a splendid condition they are in after the outdoor life which the training entails.

I am hoping they will come back with a firm resolve to help forward such legislation as will enable men to enjoy sunshine, fresh air, and flowers around the houses in which they live, and that the land of England will be turned to better account than it has been in the past, for the benefit of the people rather than the self-indulgence of a handful of rich men.

June 25th, 1915.

Yesterday was Mother's birthday, and as Wind's Point was at liberty we decided to keep the day there.

Mother called for me at Bournville at half-past five, and we arrived at Wind's Point about seven o'clock. We had a walk round the Herefordshire Beacon before dinner; after dinner, the intense quiet was very restful. Mother and I stood out and could not hear a sound of any kind.

We were up in good time this morning. I went up to the top of the Herefordshire Beacon and Mother went a good way towards it. We breakfasted at 8.30, and left by car soon after 9 o'clock, so that we really had quite a good holiday without much encroaching on our day's work.

The foxgloves on the hills are a sight—tens of thousands of them just at their best.

Sir Oliver and Lady Lodge had been there for a fortnight, and they write how much they appreciated the beauty of the surroundings, the quiet and the rest.

July 6th, 1915.

Saturday was a busy day, and we were very anxious that it should be fine. There were about 1,000 people

at the entertainment on behalf of the Cripples at Bournville Park. Mother opened it. It showed a great deal of voluntary work to carry it through so well. At the Manor we had about 200 girls, mainly girls who serve in shops—some of them very nice-looking and respectable, and they thoroughly enjoyed the garden. At Ruskin Hall there was an exhibition of students' work. In the exhibition were some very nice little paintings by Ursula and Betty, also some by Miss Stuart. As we were coming out we saw Arnold Rowntree passing. He was walking from "Woodbrooke" to "Uffculme," so we took him across in our car, and Henry and I went into the "Uffculme" grounds which look very beautiful. It is wonderful how the trees and shrubs planted by my brother about 20 years ago have grown up. About 500 to 600 representatives of the Midland Adult School Union were there. Arnold had come over to give the address.

July 20th, 1915.

Mollie had a good time at the dinner for her 21st birthday yesterday. We numbered about six and thirty, but only one of her six brothers was there. Barrow made the best speech I have yet heard him give at the birthday dinner—very kind and sympathetic. George said a few words as the only one of the six brothers present. Then Mollie made her speech, calm, cool, collected, almost every sentence received with applause, but she kept her head wonderfully well and said just the right things.

September 12th, 1918.

We are having a lively time at The Manor House. We are thankful to have our two sons at home safe and sound, and to hear what many narrow misses they have had. When we think of the many families who have lost their sons, we feel very thankful to have both ours home in fine health and spirits. Laurence came home yesterday; he had spent the night before with Henry. Bertie and Mary have been with us nearly a week. We also have little Peter—a jolly little fellow; he already knows his grandparents and is pleased to come to us.

Edward and George were in London on business last night; one is staying with Henry and Lucy, and one with Eleanor and Bertram. The latter are now busy getting the house that they have bought in order.

We had an interesting visit on Saturday from five Japanese gentlemen—one was in the Ministry—a post equivalent to our President of the Local Government Board ; another, Minister of Education for the Korea, which they now consider part of Japan with thirty out of the seventy millions of Japanese ; another came from the Consulate.

July 17*th*, 1919.

Since the King's visit, visitors pour in to see the Village —two hundred Sanitary Inspectors from all over the Kingdom to-day, ten French Housing Reformers to-morrow, and so every day brings its quota of interesting people.

We are having a bath cut out of the rock (24 ft. by 6 ft.) at Malvern. It has been made near where the frames have been removed at the very bottom of the garden. We hope that generations of children will enjoy outdoor bathing. I always enjoyed it far more than bathing in the sea, and the old people in the neighbourhood say that I used to break the ice in the late autumn at Bittel Reservoir to get a swim.

George is having a tiresome time at Harrogate, but is improving. No doubt it is good for a man to have a break like this in his active business and public life. I hope George on his return will continue in the Council, but refuse Chairmanship of the Housing Committee. He will have a busy time at Bournville, as William no doubt will accept the invitation to become Lord Mayor of Birmingham.

July 31*st*, 1919.

Dorothea's wedding is over. There is a great blank in the house without her, and I do not like looking on her empty room. She has always been ready to do anything for any of us ; parents and brothers especially will greatly miss her.

All the households were full of visitors. . . .

Yesterday and to-day have been the finest days we have had for about a month—glorious sunshine all day ; we are glad of it so that we may finish our hay harvest, which on the whole has been a good one and well worth gathering in, as hay instead of being £4 a ton is already £14 and may go up to £20 in the winter.

December 31*st*, 1919.

The Christmas festivities are over, and so far as I know no one is the worse for them. We have never had quite so busy a time at The Manor House. The House Party was most successful, and it is the party in the year that I think gives us on the whole the most satisfaction ; it brings back the past when such parties were common and when the master and the mistress take the place of the servants and wait at the tables.

Two nights after we had a very different party, but a very pleasant. Forty of Laurence's friends came to The Manor House for a dance.

The house has also been more full of visitors than ever before.

January 22*nd*, 1920.

Edward has been very busy in his leisure time re-organizing the colleges in connexion with Woodbrooke, so as to give them all an interest in the choice of professors, etc. This will relieve Woodbrooke of very much of the heavy burden that has rested upon it. This term they are all more than full.

George is still very busy on the Housing question. Three of the experimental houses are going up rapidly in Hay Green Lane—a pair of cottages built with concrete blocks made quickly on the spot, a wooden bungalow, etc. —and these will soon be followed by others.

March 18*th*, 1920.

Mother and I were in London last Friday. We first visited a building that Friends are considering taking for their new Headquarters, but the place is so vast that it oppressed me.

Then we went to an afternoon party at Buckingham Palace. We had been to garden parties there as well as to Windsor, but I had not seen the interior of the Palace before. There were some two or three hundred people there. We were all introduced to the King and Queen and Princess Mary. As I came to the King, he said:

"We shall never forget our pleasant visit to Bournville."

When the assembled company had all been received, a message came to us that the Queen wanted to have a further chat. She was very pleasant, joking me at once

about my not wearing my hat, when they were here last May, and said she hoped I had not suffered any ill results from it.

She was greatly interested in the Experimental Houses we are building, and told me to send every particular as to how long they were building, what was the cost, the rent, and every other detail connected with them. . . .

In the meanwhile Mrs. Barnett came up and joined in the conversation; she made the Princess laugh by calling me the grandfather of the Hampstead Garden Suburb, etc.

March 12*th*, 1921.

I think I told you in a previous journal that I see all our men and girls when they give notice of marriage. This week I have seen six men and eight girls who are being married; for a wonder one of the men had a home of his own. Practically all have to go into apartments—a miserable thing for a wife.

Last Saturday, you will see by cutting from the paper, Mother and I inspected a thirteen acre plot on Lucas's farm, on the ash road at Selly Oak; there will be room for 120 good-sized allotments on this land. In the afternoon we opened a 21-acre plot in Fordhouse Lane, Stirchley, which is being let out for allotments. In both cases a few earnest, self-denying men have secured this boon for their fellow workers.

Last night I paid a visit to one of my old scholars who some thirty years ago was a drunkard, and when drunk very violent and a terror to the police. He wrote me a letter asking for a sanatorium note for some poor woman in his neighbourhood.

He has now taken the lead in one of our old Branch Classes and is bringing in some of the rough men from the slums of Birmingham. His House is in a typical slum court in a street with courts all the way along.

In this elaborate gossip, of which his letters are full, George Cadbury had a definite purpose in view. It was to keep the bond of the family intact, and to preserve that intimacy and mutual interest without which the family relationship so speedily withers. Hence the constant references

to the doings of this one and the sayings of that. The spirit of unity, embodied in the family motto and in the tradition of the Friends, was, he knew, threatened by the tendencies which had come in with the freer contact with the outside world. It was no longer right or possible to preserve the old exclusiveness ; but that only made it the more necessary to cultivate intensively the plant of family affection, and to avoid the restraints and secrets that poison that plant. He was careful to avoid any appearance of discrimination or preference in regard to his children, but in his old age he fell a victim to undisguised favouritism for the youngest of his eleven children, Ursula, who became his constant companion, and of whom he wrote to the others incessantly. A typical letter from Monte Verde, Bordighera, written to one of his sons on March 7th, 1911, may be given :

DEAR HENRY,

Yesterday we motored again to Alassio with Lady Ilbert, who called on two or three ladies in whom she has taken a kindly interest. She is much taken with Ursula, and has asked that she and Miss Stuart may stay a night on her return home at their apartments in the Houses of Parliament, and in the morning have a game in them, sitting, for example, in the Speaker's chair! but I rather hope she will accept Eleanor's invitation instead.

We are rather disturbed about some poisonous caterpillars: they hang like a cotton ball on the fir trees. When they break through the cover they march *head to tail* like a thin serpent, 50 or 70 in a row. I have destroyed two regiments this morning. The doctor here told us a lady picked up one and then touched her face, the result was that her head and face swelled alarmingly. We fear Ursula treading on one and touching her shoe.

Ursula is very anxious to go into town to buy something for Dollie's birthday, but we fear to let her go into town as so many children have the measles. Our own

grounds are so large and delightful that she is happy here for hours, and looks the very picture of health.

The *Saturday Review* is now attacking us—another high compliment to the influence of the *Daily News*. They say:

"Who will be surprised that among the Nonconformist tradesmen there will be a *rush for peerages*. One can imagine the Master of Elibank sitting solemnly in his office. The doors open and the queue bursts in, Rowntrees, Cadburys, Frys, Levers, Cliffords, Horners, and all the other Puritans who are not of this world. It goes without saying that all Cocoa will be in the House of Lords, and a large contingent of shopkeepers." (It is cruel to drag Frys in, the largest and oldest cocoa makers, and so far as I know all Unionists.)

William and Emmeline are starting to-morrow for Portugal, also visiting Madrid, Grenada, etc.

With love from us all,

Your attached father,

GEORGE CADBURY.

Christmas was a great season for family reunion. "We have had a very happy Christmas," he writes in 1910. "On Saturday we had the gathering of children. We had some twenty of them, including William's, Arnold's, Barrow's, George's, William Hoyland's, and our own children —a very pretty sight to see all these little ones so happy together. On Sunday we had a remarkably good Meeting in the morning, and in the evening practically all our household went again to hear a very fine address by Tom Bryan (the warden of Fircroft), also carols by the choir. I am glad to say we have persuaded the Bryans to go to Malvern, where I hope they are having a good time, and we will keep them there as long as we can. Bryan never likes to go anywhere alone, and Mr. and Mrs. Brown, the schoolmaster and his wife, are with them, so no doubt they will have a merry time. On Monday we had the family

gathering, thirty-four sitting down to dinner. Yesterday George had planned a walk. It was a delightful morning. Sixteen of us took the train to Alvechurch, and then walked along the canal, by the side of the three little reservoirs, and up the Lickey Hills to George's house, where we all had dinner. It was a magnificent day and everybody seemed greatly to enjoy the walk, which was new to very many. We took possession of the little church at Cofton Hackett, where mother and Eleanor played the organ. It is a quaint little place, one of the tombs dating as far back as the fifteenth century. The children are very busy getting ready for our party to-morrow. One hundred and thirty-five have accepted the invitation, besides our house party, so there will be something like 150 sitting down to dinner—a party large enough to tax even the resources of the Manor House."

The quiet current of his life was interrupted in an alarming fashion on January 31st, 1913. He was sitting in his office at the works, dictating letters to his secretary, Miss Davis, when she noticed that he stopped at intervals as though he had lost the thread of his thought. Then he would resume and repeat himself. Finally he collapsed into unconsciousness. Dr. Robb, the works doctor, was immediately in attendance, quickly followed by Sir Robert Simon from Birmingham, and later by Sir Thomas Barlow, who hastened from London. He was with great difficulty removed to the Manor, and for six hours lay unconscious, his end seeming imminent. In the evening he recovered consciousness, and when next morning his children were permitted to see him

he seemed in full possession of himself, and remarked laughingly: "This is the first time you have seen me in bed at this time of the morning." His recovery from so grave a condition was remarkably rapid, and, accompanied by Mrs. Cadbury and other members of his family, he journeyed to Bordighera, where he remained until he was fully convalescent. But thenceforward his activities were rigorously limited. The excitement of speaking at public meetings was no longer permitted, and the Adult School work, which had been the most cherished interest of his life for more than half a century, had to be discontinued. This break with the past was a serious blow, but it was modified by his close intercourse with his old pupils, whom he would visit at their homes or entertain at the Manor. Many of them were now, like himself, greyheaded men, and not the least of his pleasures was to sit and talk with them of old days, of the work of the class, and of what it had done for this man and that. His physical activity, happily, remained unimpaired, and he went round the links almost daily, and on his visits to Wind's Point still climbed the Beacon with all his old joy in the great vista of plain and hill.





CHAPTER XIII

LATER YEARS

The War and the Society of Friends—George Cadbury's Attitude—The Last of the Zeppelins—Pastoral Visits—A Personal Incident—"The Chocolate Uncle"—Love of Children—Illness—The Selly Oak Colleges—A Memory of Wind's Point—Death—A Memorable Tribute.

THE outbreak of the World War affected the current of George Cadbury's later years. He hated war, not merely on religious and humane grounds, but also because of its futility and waste. The Boer War had put no strain upon his Quaker antagonism to the gospel of war. It had seemed to him a simple issue in which the

machinations of wealth had lured the nation into an unjust attack upon the liberties of a small people, none the less worthy because they were a peasant people possessed of a primitive faith. The coming of the Great War raised more complex considerations. It brought him face to face with the fundamental tenets of his religious persuasion. He had never been enslaved to the narrower formulas of the Society of Friends, and had done much to broaden and liberalize its attitude to the external world. It was the spirit and not the letter of the law which he reverenced, and if the spirit was preserved he was indifferent to the outer garment of observance. But he had never before faced so searching a test of conformity to the tradition of the Society as that which the outbreak of war provided. It was a challenge more fierce than anything experienced by the Society in the past. On the one side were those who, regardless of the merits of the quarrel and regardless of the consequences of the issue of the quarrel, stood immovably for the doctrine of non-resistance ; on the other, in varying degrees, were those who, while preserving their abstract hostility to war, found in the circumstances of the war with Germany so clear an issue between right and wrong as made a departure from the strict letter of the doctrine justifiable and necessary. George Cadbury inclined to the latter. He did not do so without disquietudes. He believed the chief weight of responsibility for the catastrophe rested on Germany, but he was not insensible to the complexity of the causes of the war and to the presence of irritating influences on our own side. Writing to me on November 27th, 1914, in reference to

attacks which had been made on him in the warlike press, he said:

> . . . For years they have been threatening Germany and writing sensational articles as to the preparations we should make for a German attack. They have thus played into the hands of the German Jingoes, whose press naturally quotes sensational articles of this kind. It is like two dogs snarling at each other, which nearly always ends in a fight. Probably a large majority of the German people are friendly to England, and had no wish to make a quarrel with us nor with their neighbours in France or Russia, but they were just in the same position that the friends of peace and civilization were in England where the violent articles in the German press were quoted, making our position almost impossible.
>
> We have no need to be ashamed, but to rejoice in the fact that we did what we could to prevent war, a war which has brought desolation and misery to millions of homes, and which we still believe might have been avoided if England had maintained her old position as a friend of Germany. Now that we have entered into the war it is as impossible to stop it as to stop a raging torrent. The anger of the people naturally has been roused, and we must secure restitution to Belgium for the injuries inflicted. . . .

But his general disposition throughout the war was to avoid its controversies and passions, and to devote himself to mitigating its evils and helping those who bore its afflictions. Over a thousand of the workpeople at Bournville were enrolled in the Army, and he cheerfully shared with his firm the heavy responsibilities which were involved both in regard to the present and future well-being of the men. His family letters were largely concerned with the expedients for helping the sick and wounded. The Holiday Home (The Beeches) was lent as a Red Cross Hospital, the workpeople supplying the funds.

Writing on October 8th, 1915, he says: "George (his second son) has arranged for Fircroft (the Working Men's College) to be given up to the wounded. This will accommodate about thirty, and the students there will be removed to Holland House. He is also suggesting that they should get forty men into his house, Beaconwood, on the Lickey (hills)." In the general disruption he was disturbed as to whether he was bearing his own share of the personal surrender. Writing to his family (September 9th, 1915), apropos of some work at the Manor House, he said:

> . . . This, I tell Mother, is the last alteration we shall make at the Manor House, as there is no probability after our death of any of our family being able to live there, any more than has been the case with the family house—Uffculme, Highbury and Wyddrington. These are days for economy and not for excessive expenditure, as we have no conception of what is coming when the war is over, except that we feel perfectly sure that there will be a great financial crash that may bring us and others down, and it might be the best thing possible for the family if we had to remove, even before our death, to a smaller house. The only justification for our living in so large a house, with such extensive grounds, is the pleasure that we are able to give to Christian workers and others who so often in summer have the enjoyment of it all; otherwise, I do not think I should feel easy to go on living there. . . .

Two of his sons played a conspicuous part in the war. Laurence Cadbury served from August, 1914, to the demobilization in April, 1919, both on the British and French fronts, in command of a Motor Ambulance Unit, and received for his services the Croix de Guerre, the O.B.E. and the long service medal. Egbert Cadbury, with the seven other men of the First Trinity Boat Club, offered his services to the Admiralty on the outbreak of

war, and was employed in mine-sweeping operations in the North Sea. In the spring of 1915 he passed into the Royal Naval Air Service, in which he remained to the end of war, leaving with the rank of Major, and having been invested with the D.S.C. and the D.F.C. In this Service he achieved a record, which remained unbroken to the end of the war—that of being mainly instrumental in the destruction of two Zeppelins, the first in November, 1915. With the latter of these incidents the employment of the Zeppelin as a weapon of attack on these shores ended.

There was no doubt a conflict of emotions in George Cadbury's mind at these incidents ; but he had never sought to impose his own inhibitions upon his children, and he found some solace for his questionings in the fact that the destruction of the Zeppelins was a purely defensive act which, if it destroyed life, saved in doing so the lives of those who were innocent and defenceless. In the feverish atmosphere of the time he himself did not wholly escape the suspicions of the vulgar, and in November, 1916, in common with other distinguished citizens of Birmingham, he was visited by a detective who asked to see his cheque-book. Unlike some others who were approached he accepted the indignity good-humouredly. Writing to me on the subject (November 17th, 1916) he said :

. . . The visit from the detective amused me at the time. I told him that I was not ashamed for him to see my cheque-book, as I gave away three-fourths of my income. However, he went through it but found nothing. It was not until the next morning that I fully appreciated the danger to the liberty of the country if such visits were allowed by order of some conceited young officer who happened to be head of the district—not that it would seriously

affect men in my position, but it would be a menace to the liberty—of Labour especially—and would probably be used for breaking-up Trades Unions and other workmen's institutions of the kind which have done so much to raise the condition of Labour. . . .

In the winter of 1916-7 he undertook a task which had been taking shape in his mind for some time. His relations with the community he had founded at Bournville were intimate and peculiar. They were less those of an employer than of a neighbour, and they had always something in them of a pastoral character. He was sensible that his physical powers were failing, and that his time for direct personal intercourse with the people among whom he had lived so long was short, and that if he had any influence left to impart he must lose no time. With this object in view he drew up a weekly syllabus of visits, and spent the winter evenings in carrying them out. Writing to his children about these visits he said:

Bournville, Birmingham,

February 20th, 1917.

. . . I have been paying several visits each week to some of the two hundred families attending the Morning and Evening Meetings at Bournville. These have been very interesting and helpful to me, and I hope to them. I find among young men and women that there is a great deal of doubt and questioning; if God reigns, they argue, it would be impossible that all the sin and misery culminating in this terrible war could be permitted. I reply, if there were no sin, there could be no free agency. God could have created us sinless; there could then have been no freedom of choice and no test of our obedience and love to Him. Then I have put the question—have they ever been tempted to evil, resisted the temptation, and repented of having done so? From my experience of 54 years in an Adult Class for men, many of whom had been living

evil lives, the testimony was universal that yielding to sin brought no real or lasting happiness, but that resisting temptation did—"Blessed is the man that endureth temptation, for when he is tried, he will receive the crown of life, which the Lord has promised to them that love Him." This perhaps just now is the most difficult question, as so many are puzzled at the awful suffering—material and physical—in connexion with the war. . . .

With the end of the war and the election that followed, George Cadbury found himself in some disagreement with the conduct of the *Daily News*. He had long ceased to take an active part in the affairs of the paper, but the strong views expressed in its columns in opposition to Mr. Lloyd George's electoral policy disquieted him. His faith in Mr. Lloyd George, the product of the stirring days of the Boer War, had survived the events of the greater ordeal through which the nation was now passing. His general attitude on the great personal issue of the war is indicated in the following letter written in the midst of the famous *coup* in Downing Street to his son Henry, the Managing Director of the *Daily News*:

Bournville, Birmingham,

December 5th, 1916.

. . . As thou knows, I have always had some fear lest Lloyd George should be led away by his popularity, but so far he has remained loyal on essential principles; he is still not ashamed to be a Free Churchman; he still has the courage to attack England's greatest foe, the liquor traffic—we are indebted to him for the Liquor Commission, and some of the experiments will be of untold value in the future.

He continued his personal support of Mr. Lloyd George throughout the war, and writing to Mr. Henry Cadbury when the conflict was over

he said he could see no one but Mr. Lloyd George who could take the lead in the great progressive movements of the peace. "He has the press behind him, and he has the heart to feel for human suffering," he wrote. . . . "He (Mr. Lloyd George) is in many ways like myself—easily moved at the sight of human suffering." His confidence, however, was not unquestioning. "It is appalling to think how men when once they get power are led astray," he wrote to me three days later. The views which George Cadbury privately entertained did not deflect the *Daily News* from the main direction of its course ; but they affected my own relation with the paper. I had edited it ever since he became sole proprietor, and my connexion with it had been so largely a personal matter, founded on community of opinion and outlook on public affairs, that when that agreement was interrupted on what seemed to both of us a vital question, the plain course was to place my resignation in the hands of the proprietors. The incident, regretted by both of us, made no difference to our private relations. Whatever one's disagreements with George Cadbury on public affairs might be, no element of personal feeling could enter into them, and his motives were so disinterested that they commanded respect even when his judgment left the mind unconvinced.

In the healing activities which became practicable after the war George Cadbury took an enthusiastic part. He was especially distressed by reading about the condition of the children in Vienna, and with Mrs. Cadbury arranged to bring a batch of them to be boarded out at their expense at Bournville. A ladies' committee, composed of members

of the Church of England, the Society of Friends, and of the Village Council, was formed, and eventually homes were found in the village for eighteen of the children who arrived, bringing all their belongings in small bundles on their backs. When, after nearly a year's stay in Bournville, they were about to return to their own country, they were entertained at a farewell party at the Manor House by Mr. and Mrs. Cadbury, who presented each one with a £5 note and a suit-case in which to take back their belongings. George Cadbury kept in touch with the children after their departure, and received many delightful letters from them and their parents. It was not the only incident that made his name familiar in Vienna in the darkest days of its misery. Under the title of "The Chocolate Uncle," the *Neue Freie Press* of Vienna published the story of how that name came to be conferred by the children of Vienna on George Cadbury. Some Swedish friends had sent money to open cocoa-rooms for the poorest children in the starving city. To the creature comforts were added picture books, and soon the cocoa-rooms became reading-rooms and play-rooms, and when the provisions gave out the children still flocked to the centres for the warmth and the amusement. "In that moment," says the writer in the *Neue Freie Presse,* "Helen Fox, the devoted helper on the Friends' Relief Mission, wrote a letter to her uncle, George Cadbury. . . . He sent three tons of chocolate for the reading-rooms. When the little brown bars were distributed among the visitors for the first time several of the smallest children asked in surprise, 'What is this thing? Can you eat it?' They had never

tasted chocolate before." And so he became known to the children of Vienna as "The Chocolate Uncle." When later the writer of the article visited Bournville to thank the Chocolate Uncle in the name of the Viennese children, she found him full of delightful memories of the Austrian girls whom he had entertained at Bournville. "He praises their manners, their cleverness, their goodness. He asks me to invite them for a Christmas party to my own house when I return, and as I gladly promise to do so, he gives me money to buy little presents for them."

This pleasant story is typical of George Cadbury's ceaseless little acts of beneficence. They were none the less pleasing because they were never casual or unconsidered. He disliked mere thoughtless generosity, and was never quite happy unless the gift met some precise need. Thus, writing to his children (January 27th, 1914), he said:

. . . Yesterday the Salvation Army Officers came unexpectedly from the "Beeches." Fortunately I was at home, and sent Harris off at once to get some provisions. The children entertained them by singing, showing their dolls, toys, etc., and the officers seemed to have a real good time. When going home I met them coming down the drive talking most cheerfully, though one of the officers was as white as a sheet and glad to sit down directly they arrived—some of them are completely worn out in the service and it is touching to see them.

I am sending one hundred of Dent's Everyman Library books to the "Woodlands" (Cripples' Hospital), as I find the nurses there have not very much to read. I am also sending a hundred to the "Beeches"—as I tell the Salvation Army officers, when they are at work they are always giving out; when they come to the "Beeches" they must not only rest, but also take in and pick up some fresh ideas for their addresses.

Of these characteristics of his everyday habits of giving, some details are supplied me by Miss Davis, who served him for many years in the capacity of shorthand secretary:

His power of looking ahead, his curious instinct for asking questions, and his unmindfulness of obstacles were marvellous. His letters touched on many subjects; he received them from leading men of the day, from leaders of religious thought, and these especially interested him if they acknowledged that in religion there should be freedom, liberty, growth and tolerance; from politicians, from missionaries from the Far East and the Colonies, little children thanking him for the flower their father had brought home from the Adult School on the previous Sunday, people asking for loans, for advice as to their business, their investments, invitations to open Sales of Work, advice upon inventions being patented, upon the planting of gardens, the training of children, and asking for interviews for the purpose of consulting him upon a grievance the writer had with his employer, to take the chair at Festival Dinners given all over the United Kingdom, and people asking whether he had any objection to their children being named after him.

Every letter was acknowledged, and the poor people who wrote asking him for hospital notes always with their reply received 2d. or 3d. in stamps, which he considered covered cost of the postage. To these answers he received many grateful acknowledgments. Long illegible communications were always handed to me to read at my leisure—he used to remark, "If people will not take the trouble to write clearly, they must be content if the reply is somewhat belated."

He had the precious faculty of giving pleasure in an unexpected manner, and at times he would write to someone who he knew was working hard on behalf of social reform and in other ways, and ask him to come and see him if he could spare a few minutes. When writing he would enclose his card, upon which the time for the interview would be stated, and say "present this card at the Lodge and you will at once be brought to my office." Immediately the caller was announced, Mr. Cadbury would rise to give greetings, and while one was gathering one's

correspondence together, he would pull up an armchair in front of the fire, tell the individual to be comfortable and at ease for a few moments, and in all probability make some remarks about the flowers on his desk, especially if the flowers were roses, and sometimes tell them to choose the one they liked best. Within a day or two, you would be told to make out a cheque to help the caller to take a holiday, or, if he had to attend public meetings, to pay for a taxi during the winter months so that he should not get wet while trying to get inside an omnibus or tram, perhaps to help someone in business who needed monetary assistance, to assist someone in the education of his children, to enable him to purchase books in order that he could be helped in his work, and in the case of poor ministers to pay for their daily newspaper.

I must say he did not believe in lending money, but occasionally he did so, telling the individual to return it when he felt he was in a position to do so. But whenever it was returned, and I have known it vary from a few pounds to a few hundreds, it was a source of gratification to him, and in nearly every case he replied by return of post, and sent it back, thanking the individual for having used his best endeavours to return it, but telling him to use it to help "a lame dog over a stile" if ever the opportunity presented itself to him.

With the advance of years George Cadbury's business and public activities lessened. He now rarely left the neighbourhood of his home for public functions, his last important engagement being at the Church Congress at Birmingham in October, 1921. The Bishop of Birmingham, at a garden party at Bournville for the members of the Conference, expressed the feeling of many of the delegates who knew that his long and active day was drawing to its close, and felt that some tribute was due to a great citizen of Birmingham. "It will not be until his history is written," he said, "that men will know what George Cadbury is, and has been to this place." But

though the weight of years was telling on his physical powers, he was entirely free from bodily distresses, and his mind preserved its freshness of interest unimpaired. Always spare and lithe of frame, he continued into his eighties erect and active in his movements, walking much, and with the rapid stride of one who had still many tasks on hand. But he was never too hurried for those small wayside courtesies which were habitual to him, and which had an unaffected simplicity that excluded any sense of condescension. He was entirely at home in all company because he was entirely unconscious of social barriers. He did not have to break them down; they did not exist for him. But though happy with all sorts and conditions of people he was perhaps most in his element with children. The indestructible child in him kept him in sympathy with the young to the end, and the children rewarded him with an affection as warm as his own. His laugh was as ready and as free from care as theirs, and if he did not neglect the mission that was never absent from his mind he had infinite tact in applying it to the occasion, as when in the midst of a group of school children in the village he saw the bell-ringer going up the steps to ring the bells, and asked him to play "There's a Friend for little children," and then stood with the children round him while the tune was rung out. His visits to the village school were as popular as his visits to the Cripples' Home, not because of the little gifts he brought so much as because of the spirit



of kindliness he carried with him. "He found me one day looking for a suitable specimen for a nature drawing," wrote one who had been a pupil in the school,[1] "and immediately he gave me the rose he was wearing, telling me not only to try and copy the rose, but to try also to copy its Maker, so that beauty might grow everywhere." He did not condescend to children any more than to their elders, but had the rare gift of catching their own spirit and putting them at their ease. Writing after his death to his daughter Dorothea, Mrs. George Hodgkin of Banbury, a daughter of Mr. Henry Lloyd Wilson, described this trait in recalling her own personal memories:

> . . . My mind has been full of memories of him for the last few days—chiefly memories of the time before we went to the High School and were so often at the Manor House. I was very shy (as you know) of most people in those days, but I remember so vividly the warm, happy, unshy feeling I always had when he came into the room. And once when we were staying at the Manor, I was feeling rather strange, not exactly homesick, after we had gone to bed, and your father came in and tucked us up, and put chocolate under our pillow (chocolate dominoes that time) and talked a little—I don't remember what about, but I was quite happy after that. There are many memories of him at Wind's Point, and at Weston-super-Mare too, and through them all runs the sense of being quite safe and happy and at ease whenever he was there.
>
> I always used to like him to speak in Meeting—the original Bournville-Stirchley one. He was very much connected in my mind then with various Bible characters; I didn't look on him as a "saint," but as someone very good, only much more familiar and "homely" than a saint. . . .

The little graces of everyday intercourse that he scattered by the way left a subtle perfume about

[1] *The Friend*, November 3rd, 1922.

his path. Alderman Quinney relates that walking on his farm very early on the Sunday morning after George Cadbury's death, he met a navvy returning from Northfield, and asked him where he had been so early in the day. He replied that he had been to Northfield to get a newspaper with a photograph of Mr. Cadbury, and, when the Alderman asked him if he had known George Cadbury, he said: "I only met him once, when I was repairing some water-pipes outside his lodge; he walked out, and finding that I was cold he went back to the house to order some hot coffee for me." He would tell the gardener's child, whom he met running home from school, of a Punch and Judy show which the cripples were having at the farm and urge him to "run and ask his mother to let him go and look on"; or meeting one of the girl employees at the works on the station platform in the snow would tell her that it was not a fit day for her to be out and send her home with a note that her wages were to be paid; or, feeling in the days of illness the comfort of a warm Shetland shawl, he would ask his attendant if her mother possessed such a one and would promptly order one to be sent; or walking on the Malvern Hills and meeting two elderly women whom he recognized as pensioned forewomen from the works he would take them back to Wind's Point for tea "as the sun was very hot and they were tired."

These things may seem trifles too light for the dignity of biography; but no record of him would be complete which wholly ignored the multitudinous little acts of simple friendliness that made the atmosphere in which he moved

among men. They are as pertinent to his story as the many records that bear witness to his deeper influence, such as that told by Mr. Waite, the chairman of the Board of Guardians, who, meeting a prominent citizen and being struck by the affection with which he spoke of George Cadbury, inquired if he knew him, to which the other replied, "Forty years ago, when I was a boy my father was a drunkard and my home was utterly miserable ; someone took him to Mr. Cadbury's class ; it was the beginning of a new life to me ; he got on, gave us all a good education, and I feel that I owe everything that I have in the world to the influence exercised by Mr. Cadbury over my old home." That influence was exercised the more effectively because it was free from censoriousness. He was convinced that society could only be regenerated by the appeal to the individual conscience, and by the working of the inward and spiritual grace, but he was sensible that social conditions reacted upon the quality of life, and that conditions often condemned men to vicious courses in spite of themselves. Writing to his son Laurence on his return to France (September 27th, 1917), he said:

. . . I am glad thou took "The Town Labourer."[1] It may be useful to lend to young fellows who have a future before them and whose help we need to solve the truly appalling social problems by which we are surrounded—four-fifths of the people of our land, which is perhaps the worst of all European countries, living in wretched slums, the liquor shops being the only provision to relieve the strain of a small house with one living-room, where all the washing, cooking and mending have to be done, and where there are also probably noisy children. I think

[1] "The Town Labourer," by J. L. and Barbara Hammond.

thou hast heard me say sometimes—much to the horror of goody-goody people—that I never blame a man for getting drunk who lives in the slums, though I know he is a fool for doing so, but I should probably do the same myself for a change.

This sense of the effect of social conditions upon the life of the poor continued to be the chief pre-occupation of his mind, and his letters to his family were largely concerned with his new experiences of that effect. Thus, writing on April 28th, 1921, he said:

. . . Last evening I missed mother's company at a meeting of the scholars connected with the "Swan-with-Two-Necks" Early Morning School, who used to meet in the old public-house, but have now moved to a very dismal, dirty-looking room in Charles Henry Street. . . .

I was much moved on behalf of the women present, many of whom are living the lives of slaves, their husbands grumbling at an eight-hour day for six days in the week, while these poor souls are working very often sixteen hours a day for seven days in the week—from 6.0 in the morning till 10 o'clock at night. The thought of these poor women stirred me up and we had a really lively half-hour, but what a drop it is in the ocean of misery! I could but feel thankful for the Salvation Army—the only church that really seems to get hold of people such as these, because they do it through personal intercourse and little acts of personal kindness. . . .

He was now in his eighty-second year, but he still took undiminished zest in the tasks that he loved. "We have had, I think, more parties than ever at the Manor Farm this year," he wrote (June 27th, 1921): "During the forty years we have had an average number of about 20,000 children per year, or some 800,000 children in all. For many of them it is their only day out during the year. Last week we had 370 cripples each day on

Thursday and Friday. They enjoyed dabbling in the stream—many of them—with their poor shrivelled little legs. One of the best workers for the cripples in Birmingham is a son of one of my old scholars."

He followed with interest the developments of the firm over which he presided—extensions at Bournville, new enterprises at Frampton and Knighton, a new factory in Tasmania, and the opening up of relations with the firm of Fry at Bristol, of which his son Egbert had become a director. On the occasion of the visit of the King and Queen to Bournville in May, 1919, he, with Mrs. Cadbury, received the distinguished visitors and conducted them over the village, showing them with especial pride the cottage gardens and discoursing on his favourite topic of their productiveness and their influence upon the life of the people.



The first intimation of the end came in January, 1922. His interest in the Selly Oak Colleges had become one of the absorbing concerns of his later days. The movement represented in a concrete form that unity of the churches in their common work in the world which it had been his constant aim to promote. It had begun with the Friends, but, as one institution followed another, it comprehended all the Free Church bodies, and he hoped to see the Anglicans[1] also represented

[1] Before his death George Cadbury had the satisfaction of learning that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel contemplated founding a training institution at Selly Oak.

in the remarkable community that had sprung up so largely through his help and inspiration. Indeed, it was in anticipation of that possibility that he had purchased another estate, which would provide a home for a new institution. The latest development of the Selly Oak system was the erection of a church for the common service of the colleges at the new garden suburb of Weoley Hill, an offshoot of the Bournville Village movement, situated on the other side of the Bristol Road, and somewhat nearer to Birmingham. The church was nearing completion, and it was after a visit to it with his wife on January 18th, 1922, to see that all would be ready for the opening in February, that Mrs. Cadbury noted unusual fatigue. The trouble was traced to influenza, which had affected the heart ; remedies and rest lessened the immediate danger, but the old activities were no longer possible. The doctors found it difficult to keep him to his bed, as they wished ; he could not become a conventional invalid. He took his bath, went to his study each day at noon, and for motor drives when the weather was fit. In his letters to his family he discusses his doctors, retails the family gossip, and speculates on the prospect of recovery. "It has been a new experience for me to be confined to one floor of the house for a fortnight," he wrote. "It has also been a new experience to be awake for half the night ; so far as I know I have hardly done this since I had the toothache some seventy years ago." The minutes of the Bournville Board of Directors, of which he was still chairman, were always sent to him, and he went through the agenda of the Bournville Village

Trust before the meetings, in which he was no longer able to participate. He followed with undiminished interest the movements that lay nearest his heart, notably the missionary work in China with which Dr. Henry Hodgkin was associated. China had always had a peculiarly warm place in his affections, partly owing to the wrong she had suffered in connexion with the opium traffic, partly owing to her pacific tradition in a warlike world. He was profoundly distrustful of Japanese intentions in regard to that country, and looked to the development of the League of Nations as the only means of preserving its integrity and its interest in peace. It was an open secret that the presence of so considerable a sprinkling of Chinese among the students of many nationalities who came to the Selly Oak Colleges was due to his liberality and his anxiety to promote the cause of Christianity in China, and the letters he received from the students who had returned to China bore witness to the deep impression that contact with him had left upon their minds. Other subjects which occupied his mind in these days of enforced rest were the progress which was being made in the consolidation of the Selly Oak Colleges and the developments in housing. Writing to his family (April 10th, 1922) he said:

. . . I had a call from John William Hoyland (his brother-in-law, the Warden of Kingsmead) an evening or two ago. He and Edward (his eldest son) are very much interested in uniting the Selly Oak Colleges in one scheme, and undoubtedly they would work together much more efficiently and cheaply than if they were working separately. The Wesleyans are just spending £6,000 on Hillcrest, which is in Weoley Park Road on a line with Carey Hill; it is

to be a college for educating the wives and single missionaries connected with them. Now we shall only want an Anglican College, when all the great Protestant Churches of the country will be represented, and will have a good opportunity of training their women missionaries. They have to work together in heathen lands, and their meeting together in classes here is a good preparation for that fellowship which is essential to real missionary progress.

George (his second son) has, as you know, worked hard to improve the homes of the working people of our country, and has done some good work in Birmingham. He is now being relieved of some of this (on account of criticism of the Housing Committee's policy on the City Council), which may be all for the best, as he will be able to give more attention to a new housing scheme connected with the works. We have voted £50,000 towards providing dwellings for our workpeople. Only last week eighteen of the young men we employ came up for their Bible on their marriage —probably not two of them would have a house of their own, but would marry into apartments—a miserable thing for the wives. We propose spending the whole of the £50,000 in erecting cottages with gardens, and then handing over the houses to the Pension Fund, so that with the same money we do two things—we build the cottages for our people and we increase the Pension Fund, as we had intended to do, with the rents received. . . .

During the spring and summer he was able to pay two long visits to Wind's Point, but most of his last days were spent at the Manor at Northfield. He could no longer take part in the active life of his home, but from the balcony he would look over the lake and the flower gardens, and enjoy the play of the many children of whom during the summer there were 25,000, who had come to the Manor on their Annual Holiday. The arrangements for these visits had always been made by himself, and he continued the task this year as usual. His letters were concerned largely with these little mitigations of his condition. He

wrote with all his old cheerfulness to his children, but he was no longer in doubt as to the issue. Writing on August 31st, he said:

. . . Mother and I were recounting our blessings the other day. Not one of our children of whom we have any cause to be ashamed; our desire is that every one may not only be blessed but may be a blessing. So far, all have had a good start in life, and now I am very near the end of my journey, and, having watched the lives of men and women, I can say that the words are true—"It will be well with them that fear God, which fear before him"—but we all need to follow the admonition—"Be ye stedfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord." The battle will continue to the very end.

I have made a new will practically every year, in order to keep everything as far as possible up to date, but I am asking my executors to meet me together with Mr. W. E. Littleboy sometime, so that I can transfer my books to him and that he may act on behalf of the family and give them as little trouble as possible. . . . I do want to relieve mother of every burden I can, as she will have a crushing load as head of our family and really of her own also. . . .

Lady Frances Balfour, writing in the *British Weekly* of November 2nd, 1922, gives a vivid picture of him during his last visit to Wind's Point, and of the eager spirit that still informed him. She said:

. . . I saw Mr. Cadbury again last summer, whilst visiting the Malvern district. The Angel of Shadows was at hand, and he had been removed to the quiet and high air of a lovely residence perched on the heights, with the broad weald of English scenery below his house. The sun was setting as we drew up at his door, and though bidden to rest, he came forth to greet us. To me he began exactly where we had left off—"I told you when we last met"—and in a weak voice he revealed yet more of his vision of what cities should be, and how they should be built. I listened, for I knew his working days were almost over,

and that I should never see his face again. I thought of "the garden city" of his own, and of the others he had inspired and which were springing up over the land. Great wealth he had used for others. "I do not desire to leave great wealth to my children," he had said. Life and its wants were so simply supplied, and always it seemed to me, what he had was for others. He saw us drive away, still eagerly talking till driven in "to rest." And now he has passed on, to find himself a true-hearted servant in that city whose builder and maker is God.

There was some improvement in his health later, and he was able to pay brief visits in October to Bournville, where both in the works and the village his illness had been followed with universal concern, and his reappearance was an event of almost public rejoicing. But the hopes raised soon vanished. On the evening of October 20th, symptoms of congestion of the lungs appeared. His family were summoned around him, but he passed into unconsciousness. On the Monday evening there was a momentary return to consciousness. He saw his wife and spoke to her a few words of affectionate recognition and farewell. He passed away painlessly the following afternoon, October 24th, just as the signal from Bournville of the close of the day's labours fell on the ears of the watchers by the bedside.

The passing of the great citizen evoked in the press and from the public a universal expression of admiration of his character and work. Personal tributes from the great and humble alike poured in from many lands upon Mrs. Cadbury, among them messages from the Queen, who had long taken a personal interest in George Cadbury's social experiments, especially in housing, and from the Prime Minister (Mr. Lloyd George).

The acknowledgments of George Cadbury's services to mankind reflected his own catholicity of spirit, the messages coming from representatives of all creeds and all schools of thought. The general sense of the tributes was expressed in two messages—that from Principal Grant Robertson, of Birmingham University, "Your husband was a big man who did big things, and so easily that they seemed inevitable," and that from Lady Lodge, "It is a triumph, and a *Te Deum* should be sung and no dirge." Among his own people the feeling of bereavement was deep and personal. It was not possible for all the thousands of workpeople to take a personal farewell, but in the afternoon, at the invitation of Mrs. Cadbury and the family, the senior employees with the pensioners and their wives passed through the death chamber to take a last look at the face of one who had been the revered friend of all of them. The feeling at Bournville generally was well expressed in a tribute by one of the workpeople, W. A. M. Beard, chairman of the Works Council, in which he said:

If we look around for some record of his achievements, some monument of his labours, I do not think we shall look so much to these great works his business genius created and maintained, or to the beautiful village with its schools and place of worship, the glorious fruit of a noble dream, or to his numerous benefactions, known and unknown. Rather shall we look to the thousands of happy homes and hearts that he made the wide world over; to the lives of broken men and women to whom he brought hope and new light by his unfailing sympathy and love; to the little children into whose darkened lives he brought not a ray of sunshine but a flood of glory! Many and more eloquent tongues than mine have and will testify to his greatness

and worth. His life will become a classic, and generations yet unborn will find an inspiration and an incentive to a noble life. . . .

It was George Cadbury's own wish that his remains should be cremated, and the wish was carried out on the morning of Saturday, October 28th, at Perry Barr, the ashes being subsequently gathered in an urn to be placed in a memorial to be erected on the Village Green at Bournville. At the meeting the same morning, attended by the family and friends at the Meeting House in Bull Street, Dr. Fox and Sir George Newman paid homage to the memory of George Cadbury, the former observing that "Perhaps the greatest thing that can be said of him is that he increased the sum of love in the world." A memorial service, at which Dr. Scott Lidgett spoke, was held at the Memorial Hall in London.

It was on the Village Green at Bournville that afternoon, however, that the most significant tribute to George Cadbury's life was paid. Around the Rest House in the centre of the Green—a memorial erected in 1914 by the workpeople at Bournville to commemorate the silver wedding of Mr. and Mrs. Cadbury—there gathered some sixteen thousand people to pay homage to a great memory. The Rest House was enveloped in masses of flowers from hundreds of friends, public institutions, and religious bodies, among them two which would have given George Cadbury peculiar pleasure, those from the Austrian children he had befriended at Bournville, and from the children of the Tyrol. The former bore the inscription, "To the revered memory of Mr. George Cadbury, the life-long friend of all nations. 'Blessed are

the peace-makers.'" It was a day of radiant beauty, and while the great throng of mourners was assembling, favourite hymn tunes of George Cadbury were played on the carillon that had been one of his many gifts to the village, and at intervals sacred music was rendered by the Works Choir and Band. The service was simple and moving, and it was indicative of the appeal of George Cadbury's life that it touched its deepest note in the hymn for the children, "I think when I read that sweet story of old." The tribute to George Cadbury's memory was delivered by Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin, who had recently returned from China, and who was assisted in the conduct of the service by Mr. John William Hoyland and the Vicar of Bournville, the Rev. A. Creed Meredith. In the course of the eulogy Dr. Hodgkin spoke words which may well conclude this record, since they furnish a fitting comment on George Cadbury's life from the point of view of the religious community of which he was so devoted a member. Dr. Hodgkin said:

George Cadbury was very much more than a captain of industry, he was much more than a large-hearted philanthropist, he was much more than a far-seeing builder for the future, though he was all these things. Pre-eminently we think of him to-day as our friend, as the father of this great family to many of whom he has shown a personal kindness such as few show outside the circle of their own relations: and we think of him even more as a man of God, whose religion was his life, and whose life was his religion. This is no place in which to speak of all the manifold activities of his long life. Let me mention a few things that have impressed themselves upon my mind.

First, I think of George Cadbury as a man. Whatever success he attained, with all his wealth and influence and his many interests, he never allowed any barrier to spring

up between him and his fellow-men. His employees knew that he was a man first and an employer of labour second. In his Adult School, in his public offices, in meeting the many who came to him in all kinds of ways, George Cadbury never showed any trace of superiority. To myself as a young man, with not a tithe of his experience and wisdom, he paid something which I can hardly call anything but respect—a respect for which one felt quite unworthy but which one knew to be sincere. It always made me humble to meet him just because of his own deep humility and his utter simplicity.

Secondly, I think of George Cadbury as a man of vision. All through his life he was dreaming noble dreams not for himself but for others. He dreamed of a garden city; he dreamed of a model factory with perfect friendliness among all; he dreamed of a college where men and women of all lands and from all churches should live and study together; he dreamed of homes for the children and for the cripples, where joy could be given to the joyless; he dreamed of a great paper that would stand for peace and justice and rise above passion and prejudice. In the last crowning months of his life, he was often dreaming of China. It may seem strange that one whose life was lived so largely for his fellow-men immediately at hand should have seen the vision of a new China. But this he saw. He brought Chinese and also men from other Oriental lands to this country to study. He thought out ways of helping China and the Far East. A few months before the end he paid out the money needed to build a college for women in the far west of China. The last time I was with him, scarcely a fortnight ago, all his talk was of China and how he might help the Chinese Christian movement.

Thirdly, I think of George Cadbury as a man of purpose. He was no mere visionary, as we all know. The causes he espoused were not fitfully helped. Persistently he pressed on against obstacles and in spite of misunderstanding. He thought far into the future. Nothing pleased him better than so to plan as to insure the continuance of his work when he himself was gone. When he had put his hand to the plough, he did not look back.

Fourthly, I think of George Cadbury as a man who knew how to trust others. One after another of his plans was

turned over to younger men. He did not hedge around their activities by foolish or difficult restrictions. He threw on others the burden of direction and control not using his wealth to dominate but rather to initiate and leave others to direct. No lesson of his life stands out more clearly than this. Like all who trust others, he was sometimes mistaken in the confidence. But how far greater was the success in men made great by bearing the burden, in those who discovered because he trusted them what they were really meant to be.

In the fifth place, I think of George Cadbury as a man of wide sympathies. In the early days in the Adult School, he showed his power of understanding by entering into the lives of men of all types. He was never tired of telling what the Adult School had meant to him, and how there he had come to understand the lives of the workers and their actual needs. Though a strongly convinced Quaker, he was eager to help Anglican and Free Church causes, and especially laboured for all that united the Free Churches, or the still wider Christian fellowship. With men of other races and nations he entered into close relations. It seemed as if none lay outside his great heart. The world was his parish. He had a universal spirit. To coin a phrase, he was a Quaker Catholic.

And, lastly, I think of George Cadbury as a man who loved. The inspiration of his life was love. His life had a sweetness and a charm that is not always preserved by those who succeed in this world. All who came under his influence felt his genuine sympathy, his large-hearted tolerance, his personal interest in them. Can any epitaph be more worthy than this—"He loved greatly"? And he loved because he had caught the secret of love from Christ, his Lord and Saviour.

What was it that enabled George Cadbury to press through all the obstacles of his early life and not develop a hardness in his relations with his fellows? What was it that kept that childlike spirit which made him always the friend of little children? What was it that saved him from any trace of pride in the midst of all his achievements? What was it made men feel he was a brother from the moment they met him face to face? What was it that gave him his visions not of personal gain but of public good and that enabled him to carry them through one after another?

All who knew George Cadbury know the answer. There can be no other. It was the grace of God. The well-spring of his life was in Christ. No child could have had a simpler, truer faith. His faith was justified by his works. Men may scoff at such faith, but when we see it in such a man, whatever our own theories may be, we cannot but take off our hats and stand in reverent acknowledgment of his sincerity and his true greatness. We cannot doubt that such a life lives on. It lives in these buildings around us and others in China and elsewhere that owe their inspiration to him. It lives in us who were honoured and enriched by his friendship. It lives in many a plan for human betterment that will go forward in the years to come. But more than this, there is an eternal meaning in such a life, and the whole world would be a blank and a bewilderment for me had I not the assurance of personal immortality for a character so beautiful, shaped in the school of this earth and fitted for a grander service hereafter. Not for one moment can I doubt the welcome, "Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." He has been laid to rest in sure and certain hope of a glorious resurrection.

So in our own sorrow and in deepest sympathy with those whom he loved so dearly and in whom in a special sense his spirit survives, we may also rejoice with them. And we may this day, in the solemn memory of our dear friend, offer ourselves to God afresh that we be worthy of his friendship; that we be more truly men; that we dare to see visions; that we give ourselves with fresh purpose to the work of God in the world; that in love and trust towards our fellow-men we discover God in them as he did.





CHAPTER XIV

THE CHARACTER OF GEORGE CADBURY

LORD ROSEBERY'S description of Cromwell as "a practical mystic," was often applied to Cadbury with obvious propriety. His genius for affairs was as remarkable for the minute particularity of his attention to detail as for the boldness of his conceptions. He loved the grand adventure of business, but in preparing for it he took no avoidable risks, and would have no loose ends or ragged edges in his equipment. His eye was ceaselessly observant, and what his eye saw his mind registered for unfailing service. The marked limitations of his secular interests gave momentum to his concentrated purpose. For books in the sense of Lamb's discrimination he had little taste.

He could enjoy the broad comedy of Dickens or the moral energy of Browning, but ordinarily he read only for the enrichment of his social ideas, and the world of art, romance and fancy was to him an untravelled realm. His intellectual force was all driven into the single channel of practical achievement, whether related to his business enterprises or his social schemes, and outside these preoccupations his mind never strayed.

But enveloping and penetrating all this hard realism of affairs was a spiritual atmosphere of extraordinary intensity. The sense of the immanence of God was not the fruit of some passing mood or some fleeting inspiration ; it was abiding and indisputable, the one reality that gave significance to life. As Spurgeon said of Gladstone, he "lived ever in the King's Palace, and saw much of His face." It was not a disquieting obsession. His mind was entirely unquestioning and incurious about the nature of God, and the conflict of creeds only left him with a certain sense of impatience. He would have appreciated the saying of a witty Frenchman that "Le Dieu défini est le Dieu fini." Nor had he any sympathy with those who try to peer beyond the veil. He did not share Browning's hatred of the medium: but he was wholly indifferent to all the manifestations of spiritualism. The practical instincts of his mind rejected these gropings in the dark, which seemed to him remote from the spirit of true religion. He did not want any assurance of God any more than he wanted assurance of the sun at midday. He saw nothing about him which did not speak of God. With the poet he could say:

I see something of God each hour of the twenty-four and
each moment then,
In the faces of men and women I see God and in my own
face in the glass,
I find letters from God dropped in the street, and everyone
is signed by God's name,
And I leave them where they are, for I know that where
e'er I go
Others will punctually come for ever and ever.

But the meaning he would have given to the words would have been widely different from the pantheism of Whitman. He saw the witness of God all about him, but it was the witness of a personal God, and the immortality he believed in was a personal immortality. It was within the power of the individual soul to accept or reject that immortality. The doctrine of eternal punishment revolted him ; but he believed that the soul lived or perished according to its use of the gift of life.

These problems, however, occupied him little. He was at rest on what he thought to be the essentials and he left speculation to the curious. This certainty liberated his mind for practical service. He deliberately put aside all strivings after ultimate knowledge, and set himself to face the problems of the world in the light of an unclouded faith. His processes were not intellectual but intuitive, and they were governed by one unvarying motive, the reconciliation of God and man through the spiritualizing of the material conditions of life. The result was a rare unity and coherence throughout his whole career. What he was at twenty, that he was at seventy—the eye still lit by the inward fire that never sank low, the mind still governed by the thought of the wrongs of the world, but saved from pessimism

or weariness by the assurance of the divine governance of things and the ultimate victory of the spirit.

In the intensity with which he seemed to feel personal responsibility for social evils, and in the tyrannic impulse that possessed him he resembled Tolstoy more than any other of his contemporaries ; but his mind was never the theatre of the mighty drama that played itself out in the soul of the Russian mystic. When Tolstoy was brought face to face with the horrors of the life of the Moscow poor, he broke into sobs and cried out: "How can these things be ?" But all attempts at reform in the conditions of life awoke in Tolstoy only a withering scorn. He repudiated the whole machinery of society, and preached personal salvation as the one escape from the monstrous toils in which humanity was caught. He was the apostle of a lofty anarchism. George Cadbury had a practical genius which differentiated him from that great man ; he was equally sensitive to the suffering and injustice of the world, but he did not reject civilization. He did not even reject the material accompaniments of civilization. He was conscious of the evils that were allied to modern industry, and of the narrowing influences of factory life. "Machinery creates wealth," he said, "but destroys men." The practical vein that ran through him, however, saved him from any idle revolt against the inevitable. He dreamed dreams, but his dreams always sprang from a businesslike acceptance of the facts and tendencies of life. The factory system, with all its belittling of the activities of the workers, was essential to society as it existed, and the remedy was to be found in

humanizing the system and spiritualizing the social relationships of men.

This view gave him a practical working theory which made him, not a rebel against society, but an eager pioneer in what he conceived to be the true line of its development. The energy which Carlyle and Tolstoy poured into their furious destructive criticisms was turned by him to positive and constructive uses. He was as conscious as Tolstoy that the Kingdom of God is within, and that society will not find peace through material conditions, however perfect, and his ultimate aim was always to make men put on that "newness of life" which was so much more than creeds or sacraments or material satisfaction. "Christ's cup," he used to say, "is bitter at the top, but gets sweeter and sweeter to the bottom." But his long experience of the life of the poor in Birmingham had made him not less conscious that material conditions had a profound influence upon the growth or decay of human character. "It is unreasonable," he said at Manchester, "to expect a man to lead a healthy, holy life in a back street or a sunless slum." The human growth like any other must have light and air before it could develop its beauty and fragrance. And so, while never neglecting the appeal to the individual conscience, he saw that the immediate task was to produce such conditions as would be favourable to that development. Give a man wholesome conditions and cleansing contact with nature, and he would be on the way to spiritualize his own life.

It was this simple idea that was at the root of his passion for housing and for gardens. He loved flowers as a child loves them, but he loved

them also as Wordsworth loved them. He watched the development of the gardens at Bournville with as intimate a personal delight as that with which he watched the growth of the great factory of which they were the product. He knew which garden contained the finest blooms, and which the most prolific apple and pear trees, and he knew the secret of each man's success, for he was on intimate terms with the villagers whether employed at the works or not, and had that faculty of being interested in the trivial details of things that is the key to easy comradeship. And if, behind the exchange of talk, his mind was nursing the assurance that by these simple garden ways his companion was finding the path to the Celestial City, the fact only gave an added warmth and colour to his views about the culture of roses and cabbages, plums and tomatoes.

This feeling for nature as the handmaiden of the spiritual life was not limited to labour—it had in it an intense passion for simple outdoor pleasures. Mr. Yeats has told us that Spenser sang the swan song of Merrie England, and that Puritanism, with its austere rejection of the sensuous life, hung our heavens with black or at least grey. There is truth in this, and George Cadbury was conscious of it and of its unfortunate influence upon the people. There was nothing he disliked more than the idea of being regarded as a "killjoy." He preserved to old age the frank and unrestrained laughter of a child, and no one loved a joke more than he did, and the simpler it was the better, for he was of those of whom Washington Irving says that they love that company best in which "the jokes are small and the laughter

abundant." He had little humour in the literary sense. Irony and persiflage were alien to a mind which though mystical was curiously matter-of-fact in its attitude to the outward things of life, and which was puzzled by the play of more sophisticated minds. The "Modest Proposal" of Swift would have seemed to him not the most terrific indictment of rapacity ever penned, but a hideous and strange jesting with a horrible theme. But if he had little humour, he had great good humour, and an inexhaustible love of fun and of spontaneous enjoyment. In his pleasures, indeed, he retained to the end the unspoiled tastes of the child, and above all the child's love for the outdoor game. He dreamed of the Merrie England where the old passion for wholesome revelry was recaptured, and where work and play and song went on in happy unison.

And so, eager as he was about the gardens, he was not less eager about the playgrounds and the play, and the village became distinguished not only for its social enthusiasm and its genius for horticulture, but for its athletic skill and its open-air gaiety. The interesting movement for the restoration of the Morris dance took effective root in such favourable soil, and the open-air play was cultivated as industriously as the roses and the apples. For though George Cadbury was but once in a theatre in his life, and had little taste for the intellectual drama, he delighted in pageantry of the open air. Moreover, he was always in these matters ready to sacrifice the non-essential in striving after the essential. He



would yield readily in small matters and on conventions to secure the pearl of price. This quality redeemed him from any sense of narrowness. Even when his tastes were narrow his tolerance was large. And, conversely to the general experience, his indisposition to exalt his own preferences in minor matters into laws for others increased with years.

This was particularly apparent in his attitude to the liquor question. He had been brought up in the most rigid school of teetotalism, and in his early life had adopted the ideal of prohibition as the only policy for temperance reformers. As years went on, however, and he saw how largely the evils of drink were the result of social conditions, his mind tended more and more towards attacking the cause rather than the effect. He often used to say: "Were I living in a back street with one room where all the washing and cooking were done, and with perhaps two or three noisy children about, the temptation to visit the public-house would be overwhelming." Nor, unlike his brother Richard, who took so large a part in the Blue Ribbon movement of the 'eighties, was he wholly convinced of the value of the temperance pledge. "I know the great temptation that every now and then attacks those who have once been addicted to drink, and I believe that taking the pledge and breaking it lowers the standard of character."

With him, the end was always more important than the means, and he was impatient of the *dicta* of professional theorists or moralists. The moralist he found too frequently moral in virtue of his antipathies. George Cadbury was moral by virtue

of his sympathies. His instincts were not negative but positive. He wanted to see the world made better, and he was often more happy with those who shared his spirit than with those who happened to share his views. His views, he felt, might be mistaken, but his spirit he knew was right. Hence his independence of action and his liability to detach himself from those who were nominally with him but whose methods he believed to be narrow and mistaken. Hence, too, the catholicity of his acquaintance, his readiness to co-operate with men of any creed or none, so long as they shared his passion for humanity and showed it in personal service. That was the only profession of religion that he recognized. "Religion," he used to say, "does not consist in outward show or outward profession, but in feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, and taking in the stranger." Above all he disliked the "judging spirit," the temper of arid and profitless criticism. It gave him no pleasure to pick holes in another man's coat, or to listen to attacks on other men's characters or methods. Perhaps the attacks were right, but he suspected that the spirit which dictated them was wrong, and he would hear them silently, his fixed, searching glance his only comment. "Where the spirit of the Lord is there is liberty: the critical judging spirit is generally found where the Lord is not," was a favourite saying of his. And with all his severity of conduct, he was lenient in his view of the laxity of others and ready with excuses for their lapses in this direction or that. "There, but for the grace of God," was the thought that restrained him and saved him from that sense of self-righteousness

which he so much disliked in others. On the other hand, no one was more eager to see the best side of men, to put the highest interpretations upon their actions, to accept them on their face value. He was aware of the risks of this trustful attitude; but he accepted those risks quite deliberately, believing that on the balance he gained far more than he lost by the appeal to the better self.

In all this the master thought was the supreme value of human life and character. Just as in the development of his business his main consideration was the human factor, and his attention to machinery and methods was subsidiary to that consideration, so his general attitude to the world was governed by the idea of raising the standard of thought and conduct. Success in commerce, the accumulation of riches, the mastery of material conditions—all this was only important in so far as it ministered to the wealth of noble living. And it was by that wealth that a nation stood or fell. The judgment that was brought on the Cities of the Plain was the eternal judgment passed upon society in all ages. Nations survived or perished, not according to the measure of their material conquests, but according to their spiritual victory or failure. They were not asked what territories they had won or what foes they had laid under tribute, but how much they had enlarged the riches of human life and encroached upon the realm of ignorance and wrong. It was this uncompromising belief in the importance of men and women by comparison with things that made him seem so impracticable a person to the astute politician and the narrow sectarian. The large simplicity of

his view seemed mere foolishness, amiable foolishness to this one, mischievous foolishness to that. He was unintelligible and irrational to the mind of the politician as the prophet must always be. The two moved on different planes, and approached the problems of life from opposite points of view: the one placing his reliance on tactics and the mastery of things, the other subordinating all considerations to human welfare. The point has been well put by Mr. Herbert Stead, of Browning Hall, who, in referring to Cecil Rhodes and George Cadbury, said: "The contrast between the two men may perhaps be suggested by saying that one thinks in continents for the extension of the Empire, while the other thinks in humanities for the realization of the Kingdom of God."

It followed that he was intensely hostile to Imperialism, which made material conquest the measure of national greatness and rested its faith on "reeking tube and iron shard." He was not a "peace at any price" man. He recognized certain necessities of society as it existed in its present elementary state; but he believed that the purpose of true statesmanship was to establish such a spirit of international enlightenment as would make war as unthinkable between nations as it is between rival traders. The folly of the competition in armaments distressed him, and the axiom that war preparations were a preventive of war seemed like logic of the insane. "It is as absurd," he said, addressing a deputation at Bournville in 1909, "as to say that we should prevent personal quarrels if every man carried a loaded pistol in his pocket." If the nations dropped their pistols what would become of the

menace of bloodshed? His enthusiasm for the Labour movement was mainly inspired by this desire to turn the thought of the world into peaceful channels. He saw that militarism was a vast vested interest which could only be dispossessed by the internationalism of Labour, and he believed that in the approximation of the democracies of England and other countries on an economic basis lay the chief assurance of the ultimate triumph over the spirit of war and conquest.

This frame of mind made him suspect to those whose conception of patriotism is "my country, right or wrong." That seemed to him a doctrine of national infamy and a denial of God. The world was his parish and the extravagances of nationalism were unintelligible to a mind that approached every problem from the point of view of the well-being of humanity. He was proud of his country, but it was not its material greatness that appealed to him, but its leadership in the moral inspiration of the world. Its permanence he believed to be founded on the victories of the spirit rather than of the sword, and his conception of patriotism did not rest upon a basis of territorial expansion at the expense of other countries, but upon a generous rivalry in spreading the victories of civilization throughout the world. His enthusiasm was for mankind at large, and it was by its loyalty to the general cause of human progress that he judged his country. This attitude naturally brought him into sharp conflict with popular feeling at times of crisis, and on these occasions he made no concessions to expediency. He invited, for example, widespread attack by his refusal to tender for orders of chocolate and cocoa for the

British army during the South African war. It was a course of action which easily lent itself to misrepresentation, and some even of those who shared his antagonism to the policy which culminated in the Boer War doubted its wisdom. But George Cadbury never sought other men's advice or the opinion of the world in the great problems of conduct. He believed the war to be a crime, and he would have no association with it, certainly no association which involved the making of business profit out of the tragedy. It is true that when later the Queen commanded him to supply chocolate for her Christmas present to the troops in South Africa he obeyed, but he obeyed on terms which eliminated personal profit. This apparent recantation turned the indignation against his previous refusal into scorn ; but he explained himself by pointing out that in the one case he was a free man, in the other he obeyed "as a loyal and dutiful subject of the Queen." The bitterness towards him in Birmingham at this time was increased by his refusal to allow a collection on the Bournville works on behalf of the Birmingham Reservists' Fund. In the public controversy that ensued he pointed out that he used no influence to prevent his workpeople from subscribing, but that they must do it through outside channels. As for himself, while refusing to have any share in the promotion of the war he was doing what he could for the sufferers "on both sides." This uncompromising challenge to the spirit of the time involved him in much obloquy and laid him open to business attack. One rival firm even sent out cards to the customers of the Bournville firm urging them not to sell goods

prepared by "this friend of the enemies of his country." These endeavours to injure his firm made no impression on George Cadbury. "What is the good of having principles," he said, "unless you are prepared to suffer for them? Loss in this cause is honour."

It was reasonable to doubt the wisdom of his action in this and similar episodes; but it was impossible to doubt his uncalculating loyalty to his ideal of duty. With all his devotion to the principles of business success, he was regardless of material consequences where the interests of business impinged upon the moral or spiritual realm. The code of the world did not run here, and the calculations of the counting house had no authority. Where faith was concerned worldly caution was no guide. "'Let us be cautious,' say some," he said at the yearly meeting of the Friends in 1889. "But without faith it is not possible to please God. Many Friends have substituted caution for faith. Let us be cautious in our worldly affairs, but let us have a living faith in God in the affairs that belong to Him." And so, side by side with the qualities of the business man, exhibited in their most extreme form—industry, attention to detail, regularity, organization, caution and enterprise—there ran a strain of something that seemed like an illimitable recklessness which took no account of facts and scattered all the dictates of worldly prudence to the winds. He did not speak of "voices," but that he believed himself the medium of spiritual purposes that he must obey cannot be doubted. The business man in him would scan those impulses with keen distrust lest they might be false counsellors; but, once

assured that the finger that directed him was the finger of God, all hesitation vanished and there was no turning back. Then you understood that strange, almost fanatical, light in the eye. He no longer heard the cautions of the discreet and the prudent, or felt the tugs of self-interest. He was not a man but a purpose. Advice and warnings were not so much disregarded as unheard. He had got his commission from other sources than from men, and he was indifferent to the sanctions of society. Failure itself only strengthened his purpose. He saw in it the trial of faith. It was not a warning to turn back, but a test of loyalty, a stimulus to go forward with renewed energy. It added new fuel to the flame of his spirit, and he saw in it the promise of a more complete victory. "If we had succeeded at once," he said after long years of disappointment in one of his tasks, "we should have been content with small things; our failure has taught us the way to bigger things," Easy success, he held, did not make for enduring success. It was said of one of his distinguished contemporaries that he always wanted the palm without the dust. The more dust there was in the race, the more sure George Cadbury was that the palm would be won, and that it was worth winning. And if his instruments failed him, or his methods went wrong, he would change his plans but not his purpose.

This habit of keeping his eye on the goal freed him from the tyranny of the moment. He had the business man's attention to method, but it was always dominated by the distant purpose which he kept steadily in view. The confidence that his end was right imparted sometimes a note of casuistry

to his methods which was curiously puzzling in one whose general character gave the impression of extreme simplicity of thought and conduct. If the object seemed to him to demand means which did not accord with his own views, he accommodated himself to the situation, and did not hesitate to face the inevitable criticism. When his mind was made up he did not encourage argument, but had a habit as it were of talking away from the theme. He did not say "enough of that," but would answer in a way that indicated that he would prefer another subject. He would speak as though he had not caught your meaning, and his reply would seem irrelevant to your question. It was puzzling at first to receive in answer to an urgent communication on some specific and immediate question a statement about the general political situation or the weather conditions prevailing at Wind's Point. If one did not know this peculiarity it was not unnatural to assume that he was, as the Scotch say, "slow in the uptake." In a case known to the writer a correspondent appealed to him for certain information, and received a reply which suggested that the appeal had been misunderstood. A second letter brought another reply equally courteous and equally irrelevant. It was not until he had tried a third time with the same result that the writer understood that George Cadbury did not wish to discuss the question and that he had been telling him so all the time. His conversation had often the same undercurrent of oblique meaning and intention. Beneath the surface simplicity one felt that there was some well-defined purpose which, if a little obscure now, would be quite clear later on.

This mingling of astuteness and visionary fervour was apparent in his personal relations. To some he seemed capable of singular self-deception in regard to men. "Ah," said G. W. E. Russell to me on one occasion, speaking of a person who had been associated with George Cadbury, "that was the man who was revealed to George Cadbury in a vision." It was no doubt true that it was easy for a certain type of impostor to succeed with him in some degree, for with all his intimacy with the underworld of Birmingham he remained curiously unsophisticated. Whatever his failings, they had nothing in common with the ordinary vices of men. His natural asceticism, reinforced by tradition, had been strengthened by a life of unremitting self-discipline, so that he seemed to be not so much above the common temptations as unconscious of them. It was this that gave him so ingenuous an atmosphere and made him apparently an easy prey to hypocrisy. But it was always dangerous to presume too far upon this supposed credulity. Some of it was real, some of it was purely diplomatic; dictated, as has been said, by his belief in the appeal to the "better self," or by his conviction that the instrument was useful for the purpose he had in view. And always behind the mystic, with his power of investing a subject with the halo of his own mind, there was in reserve the shrewd judgment of the man of business, taking his impressions swiftly and certainly. "Years ago," he once said, "I undertook the entire selection of men and women for the firm, and always judged by the countenance rather than by references." He shared Lord Fisher's view that if you want to know a man you must

talk to him, for "when he sits down to write he has time to tell lies." He was greatly influenced by a candid look and a direct manner. "I have just seen A and B," he said, speaking to the writer on one occasion of an interview he had had on a difficult subject. "A I liked very much. He looks one straight in the face and speaks his mind; but I could make nothing of B. He hum'd and ha'd, and looked down his nose all the time."

He had great reverence for character, but none for externals. He did not actively despise, but was negatively indifferent to them. "Being" not "having" was his test of worth, and he had no other. He did not understand the meaning of social ambition, and any intrusion of worldly considerations into the sphere of worship aroused his indignation. "I have heard of a gentleman," he said in a speech at Bournville, in which he dealt with the reasons why the Churches were losing their influence over men—"I have heard of a gentleman who went to a strange church, and found himself treated with deference and shown to a front seat. He decided to go again roughly dressed. He was placed in a pew right at the back, and when leaving was asked to sign the pledge." And he asked what reality there was in churches which could apply such tests.

It is not uncommon for the philanthropist to be hard and even heartless in his personal relations. A spirit of abstract benevolence may co-exist with little sensibility to the immediate appeal of individual distress. It was this familiar phenomenon which inspired Mr. Chesterton's ballad of the philanthropist with its searching refrain of "But will you lend me two-and-six?"

George Cadbury's philanthropy did not exhibit this characteristic. It was, unlike that of the typical philanthropist, extremely emotional, and suffering in any form moved him visibly, often to tears. But his benefactions were inspired not by personal appeals but by his enthusiasm for humanity in the abstract. If he was convinced that a certain sacrifice was necessary in the general interest, no personal and no family consideration restrained him from making it. "I like to do these things in my own life, and not leave them to be done afterwards," he said. "A man should do what he can for the world while he is in it, and not leave it for others to do when he is gone and when it is not his to give. Moreover, if he does, it is often not done at all or done in a way that he did not intend. Not that I have not the fullest confidence in my children. I have had their sympathy and approval in all I have done. But they will have their own work to do, and it is better that I should do mine and not leave it as a legacy to them."

In personal intercourse he bore himself with unfailing good humour and kindliness, and his manner was entirely free from discrimination. He put everyone at his ease by the plain and unaffected friendliness of his spirit, and the broad humanity of his sympathies. His laughter was frequent, almost boisterous, and easily aroused. He was not without passion which would sometimes burst into a flame of indignation or disapproval, but it was short-lived and left behind no element of personal animus. He did not like opposition, and did not suffer fools gladly, but he cultivated no enmities, and his freedom from

egotism and intellectual pride made him the least exacting of companions. He was full of paternal advice, hints about clothing and fresh air, exercise and habits of work and play, and it was communicated so unpretentiously, and was the harvest of such an observant eye that it was quite void of offence. "Let us walk on the other side," he would say if the evening was chill, "that wall faces the sun, and it retains the heat. It will be warmer there." The love of order and cleanliness that pervaded his own life he sought to establish around him, not by preaching but by practice. If in bicycling to the works he saw the wayside disfigured by scattered papers, he would dismount, collect the rubbish into a heap, and set fire to it himself. In this way he created that tradition of public cleanliness which is one of the most noticeable features of the village. His personal habits and tastes were simple, almost Spartan. No one was more indifferent to dress as a decoration or more careful in regard to its utility. He was neither gourmand nor gourmet, and when in London liked to lunch in a public tea-shop off a bun and a glass of milk.

In appearance and address he was, especially in old age, a noticeable and attractive figure, somewhat above the medium height, spare, upright and active of frame, with a large and well-shaped head, which he carried high and eagerly. From youth he cultivated a beard. The most revealing feature were the eyes, which gleamed with the visionary light. His general aspect and bearing suggested an all-embracing benevolence that invited rather than forbade approach. His bodily activity continued almost to the end, and he

played an occasional game of golf with his wife up to the end of his eighty-second year. He had little of the equipment of conventional conversation, having no taste for gossip or scandal or the tittle-tattle of parties and creeds, small interest in the fashionable intellectual movements of the moment, and few literary resources. But the book of life he knew with great intimacy, and he was full of the wisdom which came from a habit of acute observation and a keen interest in everyday affairs. His talk was simple and sunny, without malice or persiflage, but shrewd in comment and free from affectation or insincerity. In public he spoke easily and unrhetorically, without wit or artifice, with little order or sense of form, but freshly and directly like one speaking from the heart and concerned only about delivering his message plainly and convincingly.

It was said of him as of his brother that it was "Christmas with him all the year round," and the saying expressed the ultimate truth about him. It was the spirit of fellowship, of universal goodwill to men that was the mainspring of his life and actions. The idea of charity, in the narrower sense of the word, was distasteful to him. It predicated distinctions of caste, false views of society and the undermining of the spirit of personal independence and self-reliance. "Men do not want to be patronized," he said, "they want justice." But charity in the larger sense he had in a rare degree, and it may be said without extravagance that his whole career was governed by his love of humanity. Whatever criticism may be passed upon his methods, they never had in them the alloy of a selfish thought or a base

motive. He had only one passion—to leave the world better than he found it—and he spent his whole life in its pursuit. He claimed no recognition for his labour, for he found in it an abundant reward and the only profitable employment of life. "I have been accused," he said, "of having an object in view in Adult School work, and some have set themselves to find out what it can be. I will tell them. It is the joy of service. People talk about joy and pleasure without distinguishing the difference. Pleasure is fleeting, but joy abides, 'My joy no man taketh from you.' And it can never be won by those who live selfish lives." He was not a foe to pleasure and the sensuous delight in things, but to be wholesome they must spring out of healthy lives, just conditions and a spirit of comradeship. The sense of the squalor and social wrongs of life filled him with a pity that would have been weak and sentimental if it had not been associated with such an urgent and virile passion to reform them.

The sensitiveness to the pain of others governed his vision. While some saw the splendour or wonder of things he was apt to see only the shame and cruelty that underlay them. "Some of you," he said on one occasion, "will remember the great fire of Tooley Street in London. I saw the news of the fire, and at once took the night train to London because I felt it was a sight which might never be seen again. The Thames was literally on fire. Streams of flaming tallow were flowing from the wharf into the river and floating on the surface, still in flames. I got into one of the boats manned by some rough men who were skimming the tallow off the surface of the water. But the

most memorable sight I witnessed that night was under the railway arches in the small hours of the morning. There I saw groups of little boys who were accustomed to make those cold, damp stones their resting-place for the night, without any covering but their rags. I threw them some coppers, they woke up to put them in their pockets, and possibly found part of their dreams when they awoke in the morning a reality." He had gone to see a great spectacle, and he brought back with him another picture of the underworld into which his mind was always probing.

But with this sensitiveness to the tragic facts of life there co-existed the vision of the idealist. It was this vision with its unconquerable faith in the future that made the harsh facts of the present bearable. It was not a retrospective vision like that of William Morris, who found refuge from the ugliness and wrong of the actual world in beautiful dreams of a romantic past. The merry England of his ideal was not a poetic reminiscence of the medieval world, but the promise of the future. He saw it emerging from the selfishness, waste and ignorance of the past, and fashioning itself out of the enlarging sense of goodwill and human comradeship. It was a future in which the false things that divide men should give place to the true things that unite them, in which the energies of society should be diverted from selfish conflicts to the common conquest over injustice, in which the community should feel the wrong done to the least of its members as a wrong done to itself. In that time he saw men eager, not for the accumulation of possessions but for the extension of that "wealth of noble living" which was

the only worthy achievement of civilization. Childhood would no longer be exploited and labour would be honourable and joyous. The homes of the people would cease to be a shame, and the pleasures of the people would spring out of wholesome lives and the love of natural things. The riches of life would be in widest commonalty spread, and the victories of science over matter would be the heritage of all. The New Jerusalem that he sought to build "in England's green and pleasant land" is still far off; but if it has been brought nearer, if its contours may be dimly descried even amidst the wreckage of the war, we owe the fact in no small degree to the purposeful dreams of George Cadbury.



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